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ABSTRACT

To increase understanding of culture change in rural Alaska as it specifically pertains to selected policy-related issues outlined by the Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission staff, four general areas are addressed: traditional subsistence use and effects of changing access and availability of those activities, apparent long-range effects of cash and jobs on village life, means of communication among villages and between villages and government, and changes in the social order of village life. Data from questionnaires completed by 80 residents of the village of Old Harbor is analyzed providing insight into commission questions pertaining to population changes--values of the good life, changes in economic organization, restricted access, intra-regional ties, travel and transportation, social organization, intercommunication and cultural contact (government/village), the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement, and Land Use Planning Commission role. Main policy implications of the study are the need for careful assessment of each village to be directly or indirectly affected by change in land status/access, involvement of villagers on issues/alternatives, and increased awareness by all Alaskans of regional and village differences. It is concluded that anthropological methodologies may be useful for incorporating social and cultural considerations into land use and economic development planning. (RS)

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STEPS TOWARD UNDERSTANDING
RAPID CULTURE CHANGE
IN NATIVE RURAL ALASKA

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BY

NANCY YAW DAVIS

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STEPS TOWARD UNDERSTANDING RAPID CULTURE CHANGE IN NATIVE RURAL ALASKA

By

Nancy Yaw Davis

For

Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission for Alaska

February 1976

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PREFACE

Steps Toward Understanding Rapid Culture Change in Native Rural Alaska suggests the application of anthropological knowledge and methodologies to major land use issues. As such, it represents a pioneer effort to fully incorporate social and cultural considerations in land use and economic development planning. While Dr. Davis has performed the research reflected in this study in rural Alaska and has referenced public policy issues of current importance there, the basic approach she has taken to her research and the recommendations she makes have far wider applicability in other places and to other issues.

Of the many remarkable aspects of this study, one bears specific mention here. Dr. Davis has outlind a research model that not only provides increased information to policy makers but also enhances the decision-making abilities of those the policy makers serve. She has rightly presumed that the best decisions are those made with the full understanding and involvement of the community affected. Dr. Davis does not argue for the preservation of Alaska Native cultures in this study, but rather for the freedom and abilities of communities to select their own course and rate of change and the recognition by decision makers of the community's preference. The research--in effect, the dialogue--Dr. Davis suggests in this report is a simple and feasible means for policy makers to do just this.

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STEPS TOWARD UNDERSTANDING RAPID CULTURE CHANGE IN NATIVE RURAL ALASKA

Nancy Yaw Davis
February, 1976

Introduction

This report is directed toward increasing understanding of culture change in rural Alaska as it specifically pertains to selected policy-related issues outlined by the Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission staff. Four general areas are addressed: (1) traditional subsistence use and the effects of changing access and availability of those activities, (2) apparent long-range effects of cash and jobs on village life, (3) means of communication among villages and between villages and government, and (4) changes in the social order of village life.

The theoretical framework for this study is derived primarily from social anthropology, especially that branch called "action anthropology" (Tax 1959; 1975). The facts presented are derived from other studies of culture change, my own previous research, and a recent village survey made under the auspices of this contract.

Limitations of this paper include the current state of our scientific knowledge of human cultures and how they change, the nearly complete void of data pertinent to the special circumstances of rural Alaska, and finally, the limited time frame of this short research project. However, this paper does represent a start in the direction of trying to elicit, understand, and communicate the people dimension of change in Alaska. Further, it introduces a research method which appears to be appropriate for the times, for the social science ethics involved, and for the gathering of information needed both by villages and by the many levels of government concerned about what is happening.

These initial perspectives are presented in several parts. First I will give a brief outline of literature available on culture change in Alaska, followed by a lengthy discussion of the survey method innovated for gathering new data on current issues. Next I will address specific questions and incorporate information which will assist in considering alternative answers. Finally, I will make a statement on the policy implications of my findings.

Four themes thread themselves through the following report. One theme is the original one requested: culture change in rural Alaska. Another involves insights derived from the village survey and what that tells us about indicators of culture change. A third theme is perhaps the most obvious: the efforts of one cultural anthropologist attempting to comprehend and translate into this report some understanding of the incredible complexities of cultural dynamics in Alaska. The fourth theme underlying the other three is frustration. Frustration with the demands of coping with variables which can be only partially understood and never controlled. Frustration with the limitations of information available to be analyzed within the context of this report. Frustration that the discipline of anthropology has not yet developed a set of models which would neatly fit the changing situation in the north or the policy issues. And, finally, sometimes thinly disguised frustration with the Land Use Planning Commission staff for requesting a seemingly impossible task, and with myself for agreeing to tackle it anyway. In no way within the limitations of this small contract can I adequately answer their important and complex questions.

Extensive research in all areas of Alaska remains to be accomplished in the near future before the necessary information on the socioeconomic conditions and directions of change are accurately assessed and made available to those persons making recommendations further affecting those directions. The greatest need for sensitive research and assessment lies in the area of the people, the villages, and the cultures which they maintain and modify. Although much valuable, sophisticated, scientific information is available on clams, on trees, and on wolves, we also need, for the survival of the species of Homo sapiens, accurate information on the viable village groups represented with the boundaries of the State. If clams die, the Homo sapiens species will still live; if trees are damaged or cut down, our species will continue. If wolves are over hunted, somehow people will still manage. But if the viable options of living reflected in the several hundred Native villages are restricted, and the villages and the cultures they represent die, then a very real part of all our humanity dies with them. These human communities offer us examples in the experiment of living, of options which many well serve civilization with valuable new knowledge as the nation moves in the direction of a post-industrial revolution which must include a re-evaluation, a relearning of some of the social and economic skills which are still viable in many Native villages.

In sum, the dynamics of current village life potentially offers us long-range significant information toward our species survival. Village values, social skills, and knowledge may be more important in the long run than the physical land they occupy or the land which may for various reasons be withdrawn. But the people are extensions of the land and they belong to the land. The one cannot be changed without ramifications on the other. Therein lies the tremendous responsibility of the State and the nation to understand those complex relationships.

With this, we begin now our mutual task of understanding what we can and allowing that understanding a place, hopefully an important place, in deliberations on land recommendations and decisions in the future.

The Literature

This report represents an expansion of the traditional boundaries of the discipline of anthropology toward addressing issues concerning government policy. Because this is a new kind of endeavor and because one researcher's views are influenced selectively by certain authors, I wish to identify here that my theoretical understanding of culture change and economic anthropology has been particularly influenced by Redfield (1953), Linton (1943), Firth (1946), Erasmus (1961), Hagen (1962; 1963), McClelland (1961), Goodenough (1963), Nash (1958), Smelser (1963), Dalton (1967; 1971a; 1971b), Tax (1975) and, recently, Bernard and Pelto's book on technology and social change (1972). Research in the literature on the social effects of natural disaster and government-instigated resettlement programs has also shaped my present understanding of rapid culture change.

Field research in nine villages has added some additional insights which are incorporated here. And teaching in Alaskan universities during the last 15 years also has contributed to the kind of thinking reflected in this report. In sum, the essay which follows is the result of the percolation of ideas over many years, plus two recent short field trips, and the challenge of directing thinking to policy-related issues confronting Alaska, especially the Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission (LUPC).

For those interested in the available resources on culture change in Alaska, the following summary is provided:

In contrast to the extensive archeological work in Alaska (Workman 1972), very few studies in contemporary culture change have been made. Most references to culture change are made within the context of larger, more traditional ethnographic studies. Few make specific references to information which would help in making decisions of the nature now confronting the villages and the Commission, but the following books and articles do provide a background of knowledge and familiarity of a village or region which is important for any further research in culture change in a selected area. This brief review of the literature published within the last 30 years starts with the furthest north Eskimos, and moves south along the coast to the Aleutians and then swings into the Interior Athapaskan Indian territory. Only key references are made here.[1]

In the 1950s and early 1960s four anthropologists accomplished studies along the North Coast of Alaska. Spencer (1959) wrote an ethnography of the Pt. Barrow area and Chance (1960; 1966) looked at culture change in the area from Kaktovik to Pt. Hope. Milan began a long continuing interest in Wainwright (1964; 1970) and VanStone wrote a book on culture change at Pt. Hope (1962). In 1960-61 Gubser, a young college student at the time, accomplished a study with the Nunamiut at Anaktuvuk Pass (1965). More recently Nelson studied hunting at Wainwright (1969); Burch (1975) wrote an extensive analysis of changing family relationships; and Hall (1975) recorded and analyzed folktales from the Noatak region.

Much less information by anthropologists is available on the Yupik area to the south. Hughes' book on St. Lawrence Island (1960) and a recent book on a single individual (1974) give some idea of the direction and kinds of changes which had occurred in the area up to the time of his visit (1954-55). Likewise Oswalt's account of Napaskiak in 1956 provides a valuable baseline study for later change. Further, his book on the Moravian mission (1963) documents one important source of significant changes along the Kuskokwim. To my knowledge Lantis is the only applied anthropologist who has had a continuing interest in Alaska, especially Nunivak (1946; 1972; 1973). VanStone's eclectic interests in Alaska are reflected in his ethnographic history of the people along the Nushagak River, Bristol Bay area (1967). He documents the historical agents of change, such as the church, schools, and canneries, and how they have influenced settlement patterns in the area.

Little work has been written about culture change in the Aleutians. Four articles by Berreman (1954; 1955; 1956; 1964) are based on his summer visits. Jones has had more recent and continuous contact in the Aleutian area (1969; 1973; 1976). One study of St. Paul Island by Foote, Fischer, and Rogers (1968) indicates what excessive control by government can do to a remote population.

Four studies which include some reference to culture change are available for the Kodiak region: Taylor's demographic study of Karluk (1966), Befu's ethnographic sketch of Old Harbor (1970), and my own studies which were associated with disaster research and resettlement research after the 1964 earthquake and tsunami (Davis 1970; 1971).

To my knowledge only one study in Southeast addresses culture change among the Tlingit: De Laguna (1960) on Angoon. Likewise very little is known of culture change in the area of the Interior Athapaskan Indians. Loyens (1964) reports on the Feast of the Dead at Nulato; Olson reviewed changes at Minto (1968); Nelson studied hunting knowledge of the Kutchin (1973), including some reference to recent changes. VanStone's introductory book on Athapaskan Adaptation (1974) includes several short chapters on culture change, but most of that data comes from documented Canadian studies. My study of a Tanaina village (Davis 1965) indicated considerable persistence of Indian identity despite extensive external changes in the Cook Inlet area.

In review of the Alaskan materials only three studies seem to speak fairly directly to the current concerns of the Commission. They are Cruikshank's short report on cultural responses to the AVEC program in rural Alaska (1972), Harrison's brief analysis of communication between government and villages (1972), and Nowak's article on his subsistence and cash study on Nunivak (1975).

The most valuable general source of documented culture change since 1962 has been the Tundra Times which continues to address key issues affecting rural Alaska.

In contrast to the lean gleanings from Alaskan materials, the Canadian federally funded research seems impressive and potentially of great relevance to policy-related studies yet needed in Alaska. For example: Balikci's book on Vunta Kutchin Social Change (1963); Dunning (1959) on Social and Economic Change among the Northern Ojibwa; Graburn on Social and Economic Development in Sugluk (1969), and Traditional Economic Institutions and Acculturation of Eskimos (1971) which includes an analysis of change to cash and wage economy; Honigmann's study of new northern towns (1965; 1970; 1975); Parsons' report on Inuvik (1970); Smith (1972) and Pelto (1973) studies on the impact of the snowmobile; Honigmann's (1973) and Thomas & Thompson's (1972) study on Eskimo Housing as Planned Culture Change, and recent specific articles on entrepreneurs (Prattis 1974).

So much social science research has been accomplished in the Canadian Arctic that some communities have put a moratorium on any more intrusions. However, in the meantime a large amount of baseline data and directions of change has been documented. I do not know what role that data has played in the past, or the potential role it will play in future governmental decisions. Nor do I know of what long-range benefit that data might be for the communities involved, but much has been accomplished and made available for our review.

Finally, one study by Hughes (1965) summarized culture change among the Eskimo in four countries and one recent volume brings together an unusual range of northern knowledge: "Circumpolar Problems: Habitat, Economy, and Social Relations in the Arctic," edited by Berg (1973).

The Research Method

Because of the specific nature of the Land Use Planning Commission questions to be addressed in this study, and the limited current information which is remotely relevant to policy-related issues, I have chosen to concentrate considerable time, thought, and effort to the innovation of a research method which provided some valuable current information for this study, and, more importantly, may prove to be a valuable tool for both villages and government in the future.

Briefly, the research method was found to be necessary for the following reasons:

1. No known data existed which specifically addressed the policy-related questions posed by the Land Use Planning Commission staff. Although previous data in books and articles might be stretched to apply to current issues, and theories from other countries--especially those studies dealing with the transition processes of small-scale hunting and gathering bands--might be distantly appropriate, those large-scale modernization theories seem predominantly directed toward understanding the industrialization of peasant agricultural communities, not the transition of hunting, gathering, and fishing people into landholding corporation-operating entities.

2. I did not feel the village view on selected current topics could be elicited from just a few individuals. Rather, as large a sample as possible was desirable. Too many times a report reflecting the "village" has been derived from a few spokesmen. I wanted wide participation, old and young, men and women.

3. Traditional anthropological methods of field work sometimes do include surveys, but they are much more extensive and time-consuming than possible in the time frame of this study.

4. A sophisticated sociological instrument of a detailed questionnaire with numerous precoded multiple choice responses did not seem appropriate for ethnically distinctive small communities where the range of responses could not be anticipated.

I concluded that what I needed was a research method which would provide specific data on a few of the current Land Use Planning Commission concerns. Further, I wanted the study to be of interest and valuable to the community involved. Social science is a kind of modern technical tool which could serve to assist communities to increase their own awareness of some issues, and initiate discussion on topics which are encountered in the modern world (including coping with anthropologists and surveys).

Needless to say, I was confronted with a challenging, multifaceted problem of providing useful data to the Commission in a manner not offensive to the villagers (indeed, hopefully of interest and value to them). And I tried to accomplish the task in a way which was sensitive to social science ethics, and finally as brief as possible, to the point, with minimal intrusion in the privacy of people's lives.

The resulting method to be presented here does not substitute for a comprehensive anthropological, holistic approach. Rather, it is meant to supplement that, and to be used only *in highly specific situations* by previously trained social scientists. This is a method for eliciting needed and valued information with rural Alaskans in the hopes that nonrural Alaskans in policy-making positions might better understand the distinctivenesses of the many alternative ways of life still viable in our State.

Survey Design

To design the questions to be asked during the survey, I simply looked at the policy-related questions and scrambled up some general open-ended questions which I hoped would get people thinking about certain issues--and, further, might elicit their answers, where they were in their thinking at a particular time in their lives concerning those topics. They were generally short questions such as "What do you like about living here?" to elicit at least the conscious values that lead people to live in villages. A couple of questions about hunting and fishing were followed by the question "What would you do if you could not go to your favorite place for fishing or hunting?" which was designed in an attempt to get a feel of the current tone of the village concerning potential limited access to traditional activities. Questions to indicate job intent and experience were designed to reflect something of the degree of cash and job dependency which exists. Questions about how the government should get information from the villages were included to see if there might be some options to the highly formal "public hearings." Questions about visiting patterns were included to establish whether or not intervillage ties existed. And so on.

A special effort was made to simplify the language without losing the question's intent. The sequence was arranged to minimize unnecessary contamination of one question or sequence into another area. Some questions were included with the intention that they would encourage statements reflecting the direction of change and preferred changes. Overall, I wanted a brief, easy, fun series of questions which would tell me, the villagers, and the Commission something about where the village was concerning areas of culture change. As we shall see in the one community where the method was "field tested," the results were surprising both in volume (80 adults in the community of 300 people) and in content. Apparently, this represents an efficient way to obtain specific data from a wide range of people in one community with minimum intrusion, and hopefully, maximum benefit.

After the initial set of questions was compiled, I checked with the Land Use Planning Commission staff to see if that is what they had in mind. They indicated it was, and suggested a few changes.

Next I checked in with the Alaska Federation of Natives and talked with the Director of Human Resources to let him know what I was up to and solicit his views on it.

At various times during the process I had preselected several different sets of three villages on a variety of criteria. But when it came right down to selecting one for "field testing" a new research method, I chose one which I felt the most comfortable with, one which met many of the criteria of changing village Alaska, and one which could possibly benefit in the near future from the results of the research. However, this village was not one the Land Use Planning Commission had identified. No urgent, pending land decisions confront this village which may be just as well, for it allowed an opportunity to work out some of the kinks in the method before it is considered for use in another village which might be confronted with urgent land decisions in the future.

For a number of other reasons, Old Harbor on Kodiak Island was selected for one field trip made in connection with this grant. First, it is small, coastal, isolated, and Native, as are most communities in the State. Further, it was known to be a surprisingly modern village, rapidly growing in population; Old Harbor had recently passed the 300 population mark. According to the 1970 census, 25 Native communities in Alaska range in size from 200 to 299, and 24 Native communities range in size from 300 to 399. Although most Native villages are smaller, in rapid population growth Old Harbor represents what may be a general trend in the more viable northern villages. Also, I selected Old Harbor on Kodiak Island because I had some previous familiarity with it and wished to revisit there after a 10-year absence. For the purposes of gathering new data in a new way, no better selection could have been made. As will be demonstrated later, we all have much to learn from residents of Old Harbor and much to thank them for, especially for helping on this research. References to the actual data collected in Old Harbor will be made later in this paper.

Field Research: Old Harbor, November 7-14, 1975

In anticipation of the trip, I sent letters to the mayor and his wife to let them know that I would like to come, asking them to let me know if for any reasons I should not come. Further, I spelled out the reasons for my visit and asked for help in locating local village research assistants who would have a few days free to work on the project (for $100 total to each assistant). I indicated I hoped the assistants would represent each of the three main social segments of the village.

Then a few phone calls alerted Koniag, the regional Native corporation established by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, of my pending visit, and I was off for what I thought was going to be a quick 4-1/2-day trip between classes at the university.

Fortunately, the trip was extended by a storm to 8 days. This was valuable, for it allowed more time in the village and additional time at the Koniag regional office and the Kodiak Area Native Association office where I went over the questionnaire and explained my purposes. Further, the time in Kodiak allowed for some research concerning village Natives who recently moved to the city.

After three days in Kodiak, I arrived in the village where the survey work began. Shortly after arrival I went with the mayor's wife to look for research assistants. She already had several logical candidates in mind, and before the afternoon was over three young women agreed to be interviewed that night after the village corporation meeting.

At the corporation meeting, I explained the purposes of the survey and why I had come. After receiving verbal approval for the study, I interviewed each of the potential assistant candidates, and filled out their responses to the survey questions so they would contribute to the research in that way, experience being interviewed, and become accustomed to the instrument and the way in which I asked questions. After each interview I went over the survey and asked for their assistance in changing it, clarifying the phrasing, etc. After all three women and the mayor's wife had participated in the survey, I interviewed the mayor. The new assistants practiced by recording his answers on the survey form.

Next the five of us sat around the kitchen table and hashed over the survey. Each question was assessed for intent and for phrasing. Some excellent suggestions were made, a number of questions were dropped completely, and nine others were modified for clarity in the local "dialect." For example, one question which originally read, "Have you ever talked about your ideas at public hearings?" led to the discovery that "public hearings" were thought to be council meetings, and no one there knew just what a public hearing was, except the mayor. Therefore that question was changed to, "Have you ever talked about your ideas at a council meeting?"

At midnight we concluded the "briefing" session and planned to meet the next morning at 9:30 when again we went over the survey instrument until we agreed it was ready to be administered. All copies were modified, page-by-page. Next we had to work out a system for deciding who was going where. A map of the village with each household numbered provided the guide. We started at one end of the map and each assistant picked the households she preferred to go to, occasionally allocating one for me. Later, in analyzing which places they selected I found each chose not to interview blood relatives. The closest relative interviewed by a village assistant was a sister-in-law. They apparently divided up the community so as to do each other's relatives. The households they suggested I visit were those of the local village leaders and a few village residents who had recently come to the village, all of whom provided valuable, detailed interviews.

After lunch we met again and agreed we were ready. The village research assistants had seen me interview the mayor and also themselves, but I had not yet supervised them while they gave the survey. The rapport as a research team was so excellent that I hesitated on insisting that I see each one interview someone before we began. So I asked each of them to pick one household where I could go with them later to see how they were doing. They agreed they preferred being on their own to start with and having me check with them later--after they had gotten some on-the-spot experience.

We had gone over the details of the survey, the letter of introduction explaining the purpose, the importance of confidentiality, the fact that the phrasing of the questions must be the same each time, and that no prompting was allowed. (However, some fudging occurred on the last point. When someone was greatly puzzled by a question, then some very general examples were given. For example, the question, "If you had some extra money, what would you buy?" sometimes led to such long pauses we all used the example, "Well, say like a good fishing season," to give some indication of what "extra money" might mean.)

Finally, the assistants were ready, the instrument properly revised, the households allocated. On the suggestion of one assistant, we all went together to the pool hall to stop the game and "get all those guys over there all at once." A total of six surveys were collected, individually, in separate corners. (I did the interrupting to the game, checking with the owner. We were all a bit embarrassed.) Two village leaders who happened to be there wanted me to come to see them in their homes later, rather than be interviewed in the pool hall. A time was agreed upon and I held quite extensive interviews with them later.

Because I was not sure if a survey method would work, in an attempt to assure that at least some information would be elicited I had preselected half of the 30 questions and created an alternative short form. This allowed individuals to decide if they wanted to answer a long or a short form, in addition to the choice whether or not to even answer the questions at all. If a person were particularly reluctant, our final option was that they could write out their own answers if they wanted to, as long as they didn't talk to anyone about it until the household members had finished. (Only a few took this option.) Actually, we made quite some effort to encourage individual, not group, answers by taking down the responses in separate rooms. Also, we attempted to minimize the spread of information about the questions from one household to another by encouraging people not to talk about it before everyone in the village had a chance to answer the questions first. This was another advantage of a quick, short survey administered efficiently by village assistants rather than only by me: the chance of a "village version" emerging before the study was complete was minimized. Once we began the interviews, it only took 1-1/2 days to collect 80 questionnaires, a much higher percentage of the community than anticipated.

About every two hours during the interviewing process, we met briefly to discuss how things were going. (Once we got started I was active in my own interviewing and only indirectly assisted the village researchers.) Then, after each one had contacted everyone she could find on her list, we met again to go over what we had learned. For example, the young women taught me how to phrase things more appropriately. The question following "Is this community getting bigger or smaller?" originally was, "Why do you think this is happening?" One village researcher suggested just asking, "How come?" Very efficient.

In the follow-up debriefing session, we reviewed the value of the research, the problems encountered, what could be learned from it, and finally, I asked, could it be used in other communities? They all thought that it could be, but they themselves would not want to go to communities where they did not already know the people. On the southern end of Kodiak, they would feel comfortable, but not in the northern villages. This suggests that the method might be used with the same research team in several closely interconnected villages, but would not be as effective or efficient in villages where the village researchers were not well known. This requirement of previous knowledge also holds true for the anthropologist. The survey could not have been as successfully done if I had been in a completely new area where no one knew me. The selection of assistants, the drawing of the map, rapport, and trust would have had to be built from the ground up.

If this field method is to be used in other areas of Alaska, I would highly recommend that attempts first be made to find social anthropologists who have already worked in that area successfully. If they cannot be found, or do not exist, then additional time must be allowed for many more steps to be taken before the survey is administered. A presurvey visit of a week minimum would be advisable. Also, greater length of time should be allowed between the initial letter and the actual visit.

To continue, after our review of the survey experience the weather still had not cleared up so I had some more time. What fun, I thought, if these young research assistants had the additional experience of analyzing some of the responses to a few of the questions before I left. We broke for lunch, planning to do that during the afternoon. However, when I mentioned the idea to the mayor, he thoughtfully pointed out that there were some problems in that: the confidentiality of the answers. Already the local research assistants had a lot of somewhat confidential information from the research. If they analyzed the answers, then they would have the answers of the others and the additional responsibility of not sharing that information. No, he suggested, it was better that someone like myself, who did not live there, do the analysis. Needless to say, I was most thankful for his insight (and also perhaps relieved that, though the village assistants were impressively successful and competent, there was, after all, a place for the outsider). After lunch I explained the mayor's suggestion and we revised our plans to making a general inventory of the boats in the boat harbor and a count of the skiffs, steam bathhouses, and trucks. This worked out very well for it provided data for later comparison and also training in observation for the village assistants.

The additional time provided by the storm also allowed for review of the census data, construction of data for a demographic tree, several additional leisurely interviews of greater depth, an invigorating steam bath, a church service, attendance at a Church Sisterhood meeting, and, most important, a chance to taste a little of the flavor of living in one growing, changing village on the north Pacific in mid-November, 1975.

Returning to Kodiak after five days in Old Harbor, I stopped by Koniag and the Kodiak Area Native Association offices to let them know how well the research went in Old Harbor, and to promise them a copy when it was ready. (Courtesy calls to the regional offices are highly recommended. The people there may be busy with the many demands of their offices, but they should be informed of what is going on within the boundaries of their region.) Also, a very articulate elder from Old Harbor was in town and I had a chance to visit and interview him there, including with his permission a tape recording of his views.

In summary, this survey method made no attempt to get a "random" sample of the population. Rather, a conscious effort was made to ask the assistance of at least one person in every household in the community. As a result, a surprisingly even distribution of the population was represented. Of the 51 occupied households in the community, a total of 47 are represented by at least one, and as many as five, adult interviews. The sex distribution was fairly even: 42 men and 38 women participated. Further, the age distribution was representative: 46% of the participants were over 35, including two individuals over 65.

Of the two question forms available, 48 persons chose to answer the long survey which included a total of 31 questions, and 33 answered the shorter, 17-question form. The choice allowed some flexibility for the interviewees and may have functioned to encourage a larger participation than if only a long form had been available. Directing effort toward attaining maximum distribution of input may also aid in adding a dimension of anonymity which is difficult to have under usual circumstances in a small, isolated community. Also the short form (only 2 pages long) probably is less threatening and represents lower participant risk than the longer form. The disadvantage is one of relative weighting of the data. In retrospect, one wonders if all respondents might have answered the long form, and if so, how much more strength the survey would have had in the direction of correct assessment on people's views. However, I believe it is important for the person to have the choice to participate or not. And, if they would like to participate, then there are different levels of that participation: (1) the short form; (2) the long form; or (3) a long form plus an interview. As an example of the latter, the village research assistants selected for me those individuals in the community they thought I ought to see, which lead to a long form and usually a more extended interview. Further, an assistant once administered the long form to one young man and found that he had so many significant ideas that she suggested I talk with him. Fortunately, the plane did not arrive and I was allowed a most valuable, insightful discussion with him and his wife (he had worked on the Alyeska pipeline).

The responses of Old Harbor stand alone as a reflection of what 80 people said on a few topics at a specific time in the history of their community. The value of their responses is further enhanced by placing them in the context of village history, the current situation, and potential future developments which can only be available through extensive supplementary research. Usually, I would envision a survey being only supplementary to other information and perspectives gained by traditional anthropological field methods. Yet this survey was unusual in that it was widely distributed and issue-specific. In a sense, part of it could stand alone without further interpretation. However, because of the complexities of this changing community and to discourage misuse of the information, I maintain that each question must be seen within the context of the survey itself, the time of year, the current situation, and its possible implication for future decisions by the village and the Land Use Planning Commission. This lengthy process is demonstrated later in this report.

The Analysis

There were numerous steps in the really hard work of deciding what to do with the mass of data so pleasantly collected. First I looked for interviewer differences to see if I could locate significant variations which could be explained by the source of the questioners. None was found, though people I interviewed seemed to have given more complete and detailed answers. (This may have been because I was asked to interview most of the village leaders.) Another observation was made that one unmarried research assistant in her twenties did not interview any men younger than 30. Another assistant seemed to give more short forms to the household persons, and she was generally less interested in the project than the other two enthusiastic assistants. But overall, there was considerable evenness and I feel confident that there were as many controls as possible for the situation. Any more formality or rigidity would have inhibited the spontaneity of the answers and the fun of giving and taking the questionnaires. What may have been lost in "scientific" control was more than compensated by the extent of participation, the high ratio of households represented, and the resulting content.

Total time collecting the data, including the training sessions before and after, was three days. However, the tedious process of analyzing and trying to figure out just what we got and what it might tell us took many weeks, a process only briefly outlined here.

After reviewing each set of interviews for researcher-related difference, I looked over each question and prepared a preliminary tally sheet which anticipated the most frequent answers on each open-ended question. Then I asked four student volunteers to tally up the answers of one set each, divided by the interviewer. (This would not be necessary if possible interviewer differences were not of interest.) By having four untrained students and myself working on it throughout one day, I later discovered the answers did not total up and the whole set of 80 questionnaires had to be redone. (I do not recommend this method be tried again. It was probably good experience for the students, but it did not guarantee accuracy of tallying responses.) One trained student working alone and uninterrupted provided accurate tallies.

Copies of the results of the research in the form of "raw data" on the tally sheets were distributed by mail to each household in the village, with a covering letter urging them to jot down ideas and questions and pass them on to a village leader. Also, the mayor, the village council, and village corporation were alerted that the data was coming and to be prepared for questions and discussion if they happened to arise. I indicated I was available in Anchorage to answer questions should they wish to write to me about them. Also I sent copies to the Alaska Native Foundation and to the Koniag regional corporation office and Kodiak Area Native Association. To date, I have not heard their responses.[2] In order to fully benefit from the research, time and funds should be allocated to hand deliver the results back to each household and a village-wide meeting held to discuss it. If this research method was to be an offical report on a specific village, they should also have an opportunity to review the final report and comment on it in full confidence that their suggestions for deletions or other changes would be respected. (In order to guarantee that final step, an additional trip and at least one more week needs to be added to the research time.)

Evaluation of the Method

This mini-research method was found to provide a great deal of data, with wide community participation, in a remarkably short time. Further, it provided experience in social science techniques and a little cash for the village research assistants, and I believe it encouraged an understanding of social science, its problems, and its potential. Further, the questions themselves were short, to the point, and were administered in an honest attempt to elicit a wide range of individual responses. This survey is relatively inexpensive to administer and has built-in flexibility by allowing and encouraging on-the-scene modifications to make the instrument as linguistically appropriate as possible.

In addition to providing needed data to the Land Use Planning Commission and to individuals attempting to come to new understandings about culture change, the results provide information for the village of potential use, for example, in writing proposals. And perhaps ultimately the data could help in decision-making processes by initiating discussion on selected issues. The method could be used by the village leadership to elicit village-wide ideas on local questions, and it could be a way of distributing information and topics for later discussion. In a sense, a short survey such as this could be used in the village much the same way an opinion poll is used in the city. It may be increasingly important to have some new ways, such as this, to elicit a sense or tone of a village, especially as some villages become increasingly large, and village-wide meetings and informal communications become less effective.

Finally, its advantages include that it is one way of eliciting needed information with a broad base. This greatly differs from the one-person or council-based information, so often the method of gathering data from a few outspoken leaders on highly specific issues. This method does not minimize the value of the insightful input of village leaders, but supplements their views and involves a wider range of residents.

However, the survey instrument and the village-based research method outlined here is far from the perfect research tool. It has inherent weaknesses of being too shallow on the really difficult topics, such as values. It is not a proper or adequate substitute to longer, in-depth interviews which are the more traditional means of gaining insight to the subtleties of culture. Further, not all semantic difficulties can be overcome by revision within the context of each village, for even within a village there are different levels of use of English and different degrees of objectivity about one's life and ideas.

Whereas the "field test" of the short survey method worked exceptionally well in Old Harbor, many of the built-in limitations of this method were highlighted in a pre-survey field trip I made to the Copper Center area in Interior Alaska. Copper Center is one of the few communities in Alaska which used to be approximately mixed: the Native population, centered primarily in the Indian village, reportedly was 45 percent of the total of 206 residents in 1970. Unlike Old Harbor, this community is located on a major highway in the Interior, and includes both a small Indian village and a growing rural White population. This community, perhaps more than any other community in Alaska, is undergoing intense rapid culture change as a direct result of pipeline construction and associated activities (See Smelcer 1975). Since the short pre-survey field trip to Copper Center in January, 1976, led to several insights about research in rural Alaska, a brief outline is included here.

Essentially the Copper Center visit lead to four significant results: (1) what not to do and the reasons why; (2) four valuable interviews which revealed something of the complexities of the area; (3) an initial assessment of a community which perhaps represents a maximum example of unplanned, rapid growth; and (4) specific recommendations for future research.

First, the limitations of the survey approach were highlighted when the director of the Ahtna nonprofit corporation strongly recommended that the survey not be done in the Indian village of Copper Center. I had thought flexibility and region-specific adjustments had been built into the research design. However, he commented, "We have been surveyed to death." Further, he indicated the Ahtna region is planning its own survey in the near future and does not wish to saturate the villagers with more questions. Analysis of the refusal for research and discussion later indicated that many other dynamics were involved, including suspicion of what potential use, or misuse, might be made by the Land Use Planning Commission of the information gathered.

Part of doing social science research in the latter part of the twentieth century is knowing what not to do, and not doing it. If the research cannot be accomplished with the support, the "blessing" of the regional office, and the village leadership, then it is not worth attempting, regardless of the potential value the study might be for the people--from our standpoint. This was a difficult decision to come to, but as a result a more appropriate research method for the Copper River area can now be suggested, and the limitations of the survey method clearly marked.

In sum, the survey method may not be appropriate in those communities already surveyed recently for some other purposes. For example, perhaps those communities involved in the 2(c) project should not be approached.[3] Neither can it be used in regions or villages where the present leadership does not understand, value, or trust the potential of the research. Finally, it cannot be done where there exists a pervasive suspicion of research, social scientists, the Land Use Planning Commission, or "government" in general.

Through accepting the fact that the survey should not be done in the village of Copper Center and subsequent discussion of why, I discovered that a marked departure from the planned method might have been acceptable. I inquired if it might be better to contact individual Indian leaders throughout the Ahtna region (rather than concentrating on one Indian village), and pay each of them for their expertise and time shared through a personal interview. This was judged to be more appropriate than hiring village research assistants to administer the survey to individual households in one community. Indeed, this alternative method could lead to valuable information which might lend itself to greater insight than a survey. Such an approach would be consistent with one traditional anthropological field method and may yet be the most appropriate for some communities. Possibly after the initial interviews with the spokespersons of a community, arrangements could be agreed on to involve other village residents in a survey administered by local research assistants. The disadvantage of a strictly interview system is that many people whose lives are directly involved in change do not participate, nor benefit from discussion of the results. However, the depth provided by knowledgeable leaders may compensate, and may be in some areas the only way data can be gathered for the time being.

Four informal interviews were held while I was in Copper Center: two with "old-timers" (one Native and one White), and two with recent arrivals to the area--wives of truck drivers with a local trucking firm. Some of the insights they provided are built into the research report. These four were able to articulate their views of what is occurring in the Copper River area, and they assisted me in formulating potential future research which would involve not just the Native component but also the White population, both the "old-timers" and the recently arrived "outsiders."

Data gathering in this complex community would be considerably different than in a small, isolated village. In Copper Center there are many additional modern organizational segments and persons to include: the police department, school superintendent, cafe operator, service station managers, bar owners, and a social club (the Homemakers). I had a clear indication that White residents would welcome an opportunity to indicate their views on what is going on. Native input by means appropriate for that region, as earlier indicated, remains a possibility.

The field trip to Copper Center was particularly valuable because it clarified the importance of field methods made flexible and region-adaptable. No one method could possibly be appropriate for the great differences represented throughout the State. Awareness of those variations and sensitivity to community sensitivity about research must be seriously considered in any social science project.

Finally, should the short survey method be used again, I make the following recommendations:

1. Great care should be taken in the survey design. Exactly what are the questions designed to elicit? Why is that information necessary? Is it important enough to include? Can the question be simplified further?

2. More time contacting different levels of Native offices interested in this kind of research is recommended. Lead time should allow the regional office and the village corporation to add questions which are particularly important to them. In a sense this would allow the instrument and the research to be their research also, and not just "ours." Time to explain what value the information can have to the village and region is recommended.

3. Greater lead time between the initial letter to a village and the actual visit is urged to allow for possible mail delay. Unless the person is known already in the village, a pre-survey visit is absolutely necessary--to gain permission, explain the purpose, assess whether the survey can take place, line up village assistants, and gain some credibility with the people. Then a revisit, with the survey incorporating regional and village-originated questions, is likely to be more successful. Further, a third visit with the results and with time for discussion would greatly add to the value of the research to the village and to the consequently greater depth of understanding to the researcher.

4. Regardless of the complexity of the concepts involved, keep the questions short and open-ended. There is no way yet to anticipate the range of potential answers in different situations, especially those ethnically distinctive.

5. Some thought should be given to interviewing by household rather than by individual. One of the symptoms or indicators of modernization is individualization, a breaking away from familiar ties. In some villages some individuals may feel very uncomfortable when put in the role of answering survey questions by themselves. A discussion with all the adult members of the family sitting around having tea might provide fewer total questionnaires but ones with potentially a broader and more significant base. Further, around-the-table discussions are

more sociable, more "village," than the lonely and peculiar individual interview.

Finally, I would recommend that this kind of research take place only in the communities where information is sincerely needed for the villagers themselves and for the understanding of the policy-related issues potentially confronting them.

This concludes the outline of a policy-specific research method, its strengths and weaknesses, the experience of one field test, one pre-survey field trip, and recommendations for refinement. Brevity, breadth of participation, local research assistants, flexibility, and sensitivity to villager privacy are key ideas built into this method.

Eighty people in Old Harbor participated in this first survey and much of their contribution appears later in this report. However, before we introduce new data with concepts on culture change, the air must first be cleared for creative thought by brief discussion of a few underlying key concepts, such as "culture," a few indicators of culture change, "acculturation," and other directions change may take.

The Concept of "Culture"

Many symptoms of rapid culture change in rural Alaska occur in varying degrees of visibility. Perhaps the most significant are those which are least visible and the most difficult to understand.

First, we must agree on a definition of culture which is sufficiently comprehensive to allow us insights into what is changing when "cultures" change. Simply stated, culture includes all learned patterns of behavior which make a group of people distinctively human. As a species, we are peculiar in our ability to use incredibly complex language and in our unusual necessity to learn because our instincts are so lousy. Further, because of our flexible "educatability," we can learn and unlearn quite an impressive range of facts, ideas, and behavior. We are also unusual in the absolute necessity to remain culturally adaptive. Too rigid an adaptation to a changing ecological or cultural niche can lead to the demise of a person, a people, and, though rarely, a culture. Culture is both amazingly flexible and impressively resilient and durable. The species could not survive without it, in many variations.

Homo sapiens are quite homogenous genetically (the range of genetic difference is small compared to other, older species), but amazingly diverse in the range of learned patterns of behavior which can be shared as viable designs for living. Therein lies the health of the species, and the hope for our mutual survival.

In sum, all cultures have learned culture traits and complexes clustered together in distinctive ways. For convenience of thinking about the complexity of the concept "culture," eight general divisions of the whole provide us tools for understanding the relationships and how they are affected by change. This conceptual separation of parts of culture should be only a temporary division made to facilitate and sharpen our overall understanding.

First of all is language, the learned means through which a great deal of the rest of culture is acquired. In Alaska, the following three major language families are represented: (a) Eskaleut, which is further divided into three branches, Inupiaq in the north, Yupik in the south, and Aleut; each of these is further divided into numerous dialects. (b) Even greater time depth and variety is reflected in the Athapaskan languages of the Indians of the Interior. There, every village has a distinct dialect. (c) In Southeast Alaska, Tlingit and Haida are separate languages remotely related to Nadene, a language phylum including the Athapaskan languages of the north and also including some groups in California, and the Navaho and the Apache in the Southwest. One language, Tsimshian spoken at Metlakatla, is related to the Penutian phylum which includes Mayan and some languages in California, the Southwest, and Mexico. All these Alaskan languages are currently in different degrees of viability; revival of some is active. But language is not culture. Rather, language serves as a reflector of some aspects of culture and as a vehicle for learning culture. Which language is used is not as important as the fact that language is always used.

2. A second pervasive segment of culture is technology, which includes all the things and techniques involved in making the things necessary for physical survival: items relating to clothing, shelter, subsistence, and transportation. Of the eight segments of culture, this one, technology, seems most receptive, indeed susceptible, to change. Things are easy to add and drop from a culture's technical inventory.

3. Not quite so amenable to change is culture's economic organization, which involves the tasks, work units, and decision-making necessary for resource allocation, production, and the distribution of goods and services necessary for survival. A culture may be in trouble if the technology changes faster than the economic organization which is needed to integrate it with the rest of the living design.

4. Often closely related to economic organization is political organization, including the leadership patterns which are involved in getting the economic tasks done. If required legitimization of new leadership roles and behavior are not innovated to keep up with the radically changing technical and economic dimensions, then here again a culture may be temporarily unhinged for a while. Also, if new levels of political hierarchy are introduced without accompanying means to sanction leadership within that hierarchy, new arenas of conflict are inevitable and often left painfully unresolved.

5. As one by-product of belonging to the primate family, our human species has a remarkable capacity and need for play. Art, music, oral traditions, myths, dance, and riddles are all forms of entertainment. Most human groups are quite agreeable to new forms of entertainment. Movies, knitting, books, school programs, visiting at the local store or pool hall, drugs, and alcohol might all be considered aspects of "play." When the time, costs, or influence of new forms of entertainment are not congruent with the values or needs of a culture, considerable stress may be induced.

6. An important aspect of all cultures which pervades all other areas is called world view, including values, religion, the moral order, the concepts of what ought to be, and the vision of one's proper place in the world. When the values held by a group are discontinuous, ambiguous, or inappropriate for the content of the rest of the culture, that way of life is in trouble. For example, if the values persist for a hunting and fishing way of life, the facts of life deny means of validating those values, and no new coherent set of values has yet been agreed upon, then the moral order becomes disorganized. In any rapidly changing culture, values of what is the good life tend to either lag far behind what is actually happening or jump so far ahead of the current economic means that discontent and confusion are widespread. Most of civilization is in dire need of a reorganization of the moral order; villages under great pressures to change are no different. Inappropriate values or inadequate means to meet them can make life pretty miserable.

7. Another major segment of human cultures is social organization--the arrangement of people in families and in other social units such as

extended kin, clans, clubs, villages, institutions, unions, with all the prescribed and recommended rules and regulations for that arrangement. Family organization is among the most stable and least changing aspects of village life. Expectations, duties, and responsibilities felt toward a large section of kin play an important role in many Native people's lives. Technology may change greatly, jobs may diversify in many directions, new complex levels of political organization may be imposed from outside the culture, but at the very core of that culture are strong family ties which may be the very source of slowing overall culture change to a more palatable and tolerable rate. Within the family comes the support to cope with changes, and the social controls to slow, inhibit, or encourage selective responses to change. Again and again throughout my research I am impressed with the role, the continuity, and the strength of Native Alaskan families. They are quite distinctive from that of the non-Native, isolated, nuclear families; it seems critical to understand the extent and intensity of kin ties in terms of long-range plans to change or plans not to change.

8. Finally comes the eighth major segment of any human culture: child-raising practices. Every culture has the job of biological recruitment through birth of new individuals, and sociological recruitment through the process of "enculturation," the raising of children to fit, support, and maintain the system into which they are born. In many ways, child-raising practices are among the most resistant to change. People continue to raise their children the way they themselves were raised even if they are not conscious of those processes, and often even when they are aware that the practices are no longer appropriate for the new, emerging life in their villages. Also, so many other institutions are involved in the child-raising process that confusion would seem inevitable; i.e., Head Start with a clear set of expectations, followed by years and years of formal education about which so much has been written, plus the additional teaching of various churches which come and go (or more frequently come and stay). Further diversity of instruction comes through the constantly shifting teacher force and the range of "educational philosophies" they come in with and attempt to apply. Indeed, as one thinks about the importance for a culture of its child-raising practices and how, through them, all dimensions of a culture are exposed and, at least traditionally, integrated, one becomes increasingly amazed how well Native Alaskans have done, and are doing, in the face of such profound and confusing discontinuities.

To go back now and reintegrate these eight parts of culture, one can perhaps better understand the effects of those discontinuities. Healthy cultures are to some extent successful in hanging together enough of their way of life so that their technology is matched well with its economic organization, which is further reinforced through appropriate political organization. The underlying and pervading moral code and set of values should support and help integrate these parts, in addition to giving direction to the social organization about the proper arrangements and relationships of people. Finally, pervading all this are continuous enculturation practices which assure that everyone learns the right relationships and behaves appropriately. Of course, all cultures and the holders of cultures have varying degrees of success in pulling this task together; some seem not to manage it very well at all, especially under rapidly changing conditions beyond the control of the cultural unit. But cultures do not need to be tightly glued together; a certain looseness and flexibility is undoubtedly healthy because conditions are constantly changing, and the human group must, for survival, also change. Some cultures, some villages, seem to be able to do this more effectively than others, and we are only beginning to understand the ingredients for that apparent success.

To conclude this section, culture is that complex whole which unites a group of people through shared patterns of behavior. Culture includes language, technology, economic organization, political organization, world view and religion, art and play, social organization and the enculturation of its members. What we have in Alaska are over 200 unique units each of which has, in a special sense, its own culture. In varying degrees, some segments of these distinct cultures are shared with some other villages, and to a lesser degree shared with the larger world which now intercepts them with increasing intensity. Each village is responding to changes introduced from outside and those innovated from within, in a range of different directions, and at different rates. Indeed, we have in Alaska a very complex situation which defies ultimate total understanding at this time.

With this brief introduction let us now outline some of the indicators of culture change which may assist in understanding something of what seems to be going on.

Indicators of Culture Change

The different kinds and directions of culture change are too numerous to outline in detail, but the following 15 will do for openers:

1. Change in the general area of complex technology, the most obvious and often erroneously considered the most important, includes marked increase in the items of the modern world. They include store-bought food and clothing, household appliances, tape recorders, radios, new building materials, guns, and a range of new means of transportation: power boats, snowmobiles, motorcycles, and cars. The range of kinds of items bought, or preferred, tells us something about selective use of cash.

2. Closely associated with the items are profound changes in the economic organization of a village. The increased availability of money has led to new kinds of stratification within the community. Money has an unequalizing effect which is hard on values of egalitarian ethic, and often blatantly violates those values.

3. Related to cash are jobs which demand new kinds of skills, motivation, and human relationships. Jobs and their unequal distribution in a community further demarcate and separate people in new ways.

4. Also related to technology and economy is the changing relationship of subsistence to cash. For some families it is first subsistence plus a little cash from trapping, fishing, or a part-time job such as the janitor's job in the school. Later that family may shift to increasing dependence on cash and less and less on subsistence. Still, at the same time in the same village, another family, perhaps even a larger family, maintains a predominately subsistence-dependent life. There, most economic tasks and most capable persons in the family are engaged in traditional activities. I would venture a guess that the shift of the mix of subsistence-plus-cash to cash-plus-subsistence varies greatly throughout village Alaska, and that the mix changes according to the season, number of persons in the family work force, availability of jobs, and availability of subsistence resources. Another point which should be made here is that though a family is predominantly cash dependent, if they live in a village they will continue some subsistence harvest. Indeed, one of the further unequalizing effects of jobs and cash is that a family with a job can afford a snowmobile which allows greater distance and efficiency in resource harvest. Further, values for the taste of subsistence goods continue into the city and the hospital where relatives crave for foods from home and where gifts are often sent which meet real, felt needs for traditional food, and also allow important continuous ties to and from kin in the city and village.

5. Another indicator of change in the economic realm is the increasing level of dependency on government services in the form of cash-producing programs, whether job-related or welfare-related. People in need of things are also in need of money. Now it takes considerable cash to even maintain what is considered a minimum "subsistence" level

of survival. Again, the extent of governmental assistance varies greatly from family-to-family, village-to-village, from season-to-season. The extent of that variation and the ramifications it could have on land planning needs yet to be explored.

In terms of the arrangements of people, the social order is undergoing great changes. Here are a few of them:

6. Increasing heterogeneity of village population is one direction which greatly worries many villagers. More and more non-Natives are coming in and staying with more and more programs and this means potentially less and less local control over village matters. Some of the increasing variety of persons in communities is the result of outsiders coming in, but part of it is also the result of people from many different villages moving to a central place. The consolidation of bands and villages and, further, the development of towns in some locations is a widespread northern phenomena. However, this may not be a one-directional change. Perhaps under the land claims, new options are opened for people to split off from communities which have grown too large and independently form new villages or return to old locations. (This is suggested with the desired return of some people to Chenega, Afognak, and Kaguyak.)

7. Associated with the consolidation of population is the increased separation and stratification of people in new ways. Larger communities require more formal and more specialized relationships reflected in local government, in the range of diversified jobs creating economic stratification, often ranked in terms of prestige, and in special-purpose social groups which intercept only some of the people. Life in a very small village is marked by the enmeshing of most necessary social, economic, and political roles into most all activities. In a town, these dimensions of living become necessarily separate, specialized, and institutionalized. As a result, people become separated along new lines. If new voluntary groups do not form to minimize the fragmentation, a condition found in towns like Bethel, then social disturbances, anomie and other symptoms of depersonalized urban life are likely to occur.

8. Also affiliated with the modernization of small communities are the wider social contacts which are possible. In a village of 400, in contrast to one of 200, the range of potential social contacts are much greater. Also people in small villages now experience leaving their home communities for a wider range of purposes: schooling, hospital care, special training, church meetings, board meetings, and visiting. These excursions not only expand the horizons of village people, they heighten awareness of disparity between village and the town, the town and the city, sometimes negatively and sometimes positively.

9. Closely related to the increased specialization and the wider contacts, comes increased individualization, and the lessening of former family ties. This may be only temporary, however, for when a meandering relative returns to the village, the family expectations must be reestablished and clarified, sometimes a painful and stressful experience.

10. Changes in the moral order inevitably accompany modernization. Somehow the depersonalization process leads to lack of trust, locking of doors, vandalism, and other behavior abhorred by the villages. Former means of informal social controls may cease to be effective and the need for greater formal control in the form of the state trooper becomes an embarrassing necessity. In some areas the state trooper is called for in numerous, minor local disturbances; in other areas, only as a last resort. The frequency of external social control could provide indication of a particular village's current status. Pride in village identity may be at stake.

11. Associated with the changing moral order and the lessening of former constraints are confused reference groups. With which group does a person affiliate? The Native relatives back home, or the Native political leaders of the towns, or the White bosses at work? The range of reference groups increases, as does sometimes the level of potential uncertainty.

12. The necessity of increased political complexity to accommodate the specialization required of modern living in general, and the land claims in particular, places demands on developing new decision-making processes to accommodate the increased range of economic alternatives. For example, the decisions facing a family concerning new alternatives may involve consciously-made political decisions. Who will stay at home to meet all the governmental visitors and maintain political power in the village? Who will take the fire-fighting job which provides needed cash? Who is going to the family fish camp for the traditional food needed to give away at the potlatches in the fall? On another level, who do you vote for--an incompetent relative who expects the vote, the old man who holds traditional power, or the new outsider who has the apparent skills but no kinship? Needless to say, in some villages the political complexity increases at what seems to be an alarming rate.

13. Associated with changing social relationships and the discomfort that creates, is the intensification of indication of nostalgia for the good old days when people willingly helped each other out without pay, people could be trusted, and things were the way they ought to be.

14. Part of the perspective of how things are not the way they ought to be is reflected in awareness of disruption through increased access to and consumption of alcohol in destructive amounts. Part of the rise of interest toward returning to the traditional way of life includes awareness of the disruptive effect of alcohol.

15. Also a part of the modernization process in Alaska are some acute experiences of discrimination in White-Native contacts. These appear to increase as the size of community increases. Open confrontation is more likely to occur in towns and in those villages with an increasing number of permanent White residents. These experiences are devastating to the pride, identity, and dignity of Native peoples and may simultaneously reinforce White assumptions of superiority, setting the scene for further racial conflict. These experiences can also be devastating to

White persons who have for years enjoyed a good working relationship in a village. When they return to find the mood of the village inexplicably turned against them, they may be just as puzzled and hurt as the Native person who has for years enjoyed rapport with White people in the small home village and then is rudely rebuffed when visiting in town.

Many of these indicators of change are the direct result of changing relationships with the world beyond the village and the wider range of ties, obligations, and, for some, opportunities which they represent. Because so many of the changes appear negative, painful, and discomforting, perhaps we can better understand the reluctance of some persons and some whole communities about getting more involved with those changes which result in such negative, destructive processes. Little wonder they wish to slow, control, or even reject further involvement. And little wonder decisions leading to or even suggesting change in their relationship to the land, and implied necessity to "modernize" sometimes meets with verbal and written fear. (See _Does One Way of Life Have to Die so Another Can Live? A Report on Subsistence and the Conservation of the Yupik Life-style_, Bista Yupikta, 1974.)

Acculturation and Other Directions

One of many different kinds of culture change is called "acculturation." Often this term is used assuming that it is one-directional: village cultures changing in the direction of modern, urban cultures. However, other forms of acculturation have taken place throughout human history and the changes when they have occurred have more often been multi-directional: If two distinct cultures come in contact, the process of acculturation occurs when both respond with appropriate changes (often creative) made possible from the enlightening experience.

But in Alaska it would seem that the changes have been predominantly one way: the dominant culture appears unable, uninterested, or unwilling to learn from the traditional cultures which were here first. Yet many persons now would urge that we reverse that direction, loosen up the threatening calcification of our modern cultural joints, and look carefully at what we might learn from the small community.

Regardless of what the modern world might potentially learn from the villages, many small communities seem to be taking it upon themselves to respond to the increasing pressures to change in a wide range of ways, including refusing to respond.

Certainly the degree of acculturation varies greatly within villages and between villages, within regions and between regions. No measure of the range is possible to calculate at this time, but each region is aware of both its more conservative and its more progressive villages, and each village is further segmented with representatives of both directions. The overall position about change and non-change probably varies according to the original values of the culture, previous experience with programs designed to instigate new enterprises, local entrepreneurs, experience with a sequence of local school teachers, the length of stay and the personality of missionaries, current local politics related to kinship size and power, and response to government policies.

Further, one important variable effecting recent rate and direction of change may be reflected in the origins of the residents and the relative age of the village. For example, villages like St. Marys, Unalakleet, Kotzebue, and Old Harbor are made up of families from many different locations. The residents may have less invested in traditional dependencies and be more amenable to exploring development options. Further, communities which have recently branched away from more traditional, conservative villages may be more amenable to "progressive" developments. (For example, Tooksook Bay in contrast to Nightmute, and Napakiak in contrast to Napaskiak.)

At any one time the villages of Alaska represent a wide range of positions concerning change, non-change, and desired directions of change. There are some like New Stuyahok who have spokesmen clearly reflecting resistance to change (Tundra Times, January 21, 1976). There are others, such as Nightmute, which appear conservative but eager for some kinds of change; for example, improved mail service (Tundra Times, January 28, 1976). When one community receives many new services and governmental attention, this can highlight the apparent neglect of a nearby community.

There are also some communities which have experienced so much change in such a short time, that they may declare a moratorium on any further changes until they have integrated and "made Yupik" those changes which have already occurred. Such was the position reflected by one leader in St. Marys in 1974. So many programs had come, so many new problems introduced with trying to understand the land claims and with organizing into a city, people were wishing things would quiet down. In another community the expression "get back in ourselves" was used.

A community which is active in soliciting new developments, industry, airstrips, and services this year may, at a later time, see the long-range complications of these developments on their social and cultural life, and they may wish to slow or even halt changes. The reverse may also be witnessed: a community seemingly resistant to change now, later after watching a neighboring village "go modern" may wish to have those benefits themselves, including the greater complexity involved both technologically and socially. Finally, we must note that the seeming "tenor" of a community, as reflected through a leader or two, may not accurately reflect that community's position. That can only happen when the leader's position is legitimized through discussion, consensus, and resolution, and when the spokespersons are legitimized through proper allocation of authority. Part of the great complexity of change in Alaska now involves the legitimization of authority in new ways for positions on new problems and projects. This is not an easy task for anyone to do, especially when the former methods of allocation through kinship may no longer be appropriate and new methods through elections may not be understood or practiced. The problems of authority are further intensified in those communities which value the equalitarian ethic of "everyone for himself," nobody speaking for anyone else.

To conclude this discussion on indicators of culture change and acculturation, the following brief descriptions of four different communities represent something of the wide continuum of contemporary directions of culture change in rural Alaska. The villages are not named here, partly to allow anonymity and also because the situation may have since changed. Shifting of directions of change is human--and cultural.

One village is moving aggressively in the direction of increased overall participation in the market economy. They are applying for as many governmental grants as possible and they are expanding their cash intake and redistribution each year through an increased number of subsidized jobs. The store is expanding its stock in response to increased availability of cash. Time and energy directed toward subsistence activities is lessening. Conscientious maintenance of old traditions is minimal; conscious efforts are being made to maximize fuller participation in the larger world. This village is aggressively pursuing a road leading toward economic assimilation. This is viewed by most residents as a worthwhile "swim" ahead.

In another village, current response to opportunities for continuing change is marked by subtle and vocal resistance. To the outside world this community appears factionated to the point of pervasive paralysis. All programs introduced to "help" them fail. The residents do not want to change anymore; they want to be left alone.

In a third village upriver a young charismatic leader is advocating a conscious return of Native traditions. A segment of the population choose to go ahead in the modern world by rejecting it and by recapturing and revalidating selected segments of the old. Here the people witness a renewal of interest in subsistence skills and subsistence values with minimal, seasonal participation in the cash economy. They, like the first village, are "swimming" ahead with a new and different mix of values, renewed by the vigor of young energy.

Finally, a fourth community is so disintegrated by recent rapid culture change that its human energies are dissipated by disorganization, drinking, leadership problems, and loss of village dignity. The residents appear so wholly disenchanted with current events that no conscious effort is attempted to change, to not change, or to revitalize. They are "punting" for the time being, appearing miserable perhaps, but preferring that to any additional risks and associated pain.

The tenor and the milieu of these four generalized villages may change--and may change in a wide range of directions. The first may become disillusioned with the number of unfulfilled promises by the "giving" agencies, they may lessen their eagerness to modernize. Or, alternatively, they may be so successful, other villages will hear about it and come to learn how to do the same at home.

The second village may be able to maintain their no-change position, or they may find that untenable and become increasingly dejected, followed by a steady emigration to the nearest town. On the other hand, they might with internal leadership experience a revitalization movement which will direct their energies to a creative recapturing of some of the old in order to more successfully cope with the new, including consciously rejecting it.

The spirit of the third village might "catch" on elsewhere, especially in villages like those of #2, and gain local momentum, proving that their special mix of the old and new is particularly attractive and healthy.

The fourth community will likely have the most difficult time for once they have lost their pride and dignity, it seems little short of a messiah can help them recapture past zest.

In considering these four kinds of villages, care must be made not to generalize too far. For example, the situation becomes really difficult when one community includes segments representing each of the above models of direction.

Accurate assessment of current directions and desire for change or non-change is important for the villagers who can no longer ignore the pressures, threats, and opportunities of change. It is also important for the many governmental levels whose responsibilities and powers ultimately affect those directions, too often unwittingly and without full awareness of the many-pronged implications of what may appear to be simple, limited decisions. When it comes to decisions which even remotely affect people's lives, nothing is simple, especially when it changes in any way their relationships to the land and to each other.

Land Use Planning Commission Staff Questions

The preceding discussion leads now to thinking about some of the profound and important questions asked by the Land Use Planning Commission staff. Having reviewed the literature, outlined the research method, discussed some key conceptual topics on change, we are ready to direct our attention to those specific questions. The procedure here will be to simply state the Land Use Planning Commission staff questions as they address selected policy-related issues. Next I will answer in a very general way with my understanding of current situations in rural Alaska as it pertains to that question, placing it within the context of the concept of culture and the special way that I, as a cultural anthropologist, view that phenomena. Next the specific questions asked on the survey designed to elicit new data on the topic are stated, followed by the analysis of the answers given in one community, Old Harbor. This procedure of (1) the Commission staff questions, (2) my general response, (3) the survey questions, and (4) Old Harbor's response, provides a sequence and a process itself directed toward understanding something of what is occurring in Alaska. Hopefully, this process will tell us something new about what is known, or can be known, about the cultures and processes of culture change in rural Alaska.

Earlier, in the research method section, the criteria for selection of Old Harbor were mentioned. Now that we will be drawing on data from those 80 questionnaires, more detail about the community and where it "fits" in the wide spectrum of rural Alaska is needed as background.

Old Harbor is located on the southern coast of Kodiak Island, along a narrow strip of land between Sitkalidak Strait and a steep mountain. The village lies in the area of Koniag regional corporation, one of the five Native regions with all coastal villages.

All the villages in the regions of Chugach, Aleut, Bering Strait, and Sealaska (except for Klukwan) also are located only on the coast. Sea-related activities play an important part in their economic and social life. Only one region, Ahtna, has all communities connected by road. One other region, Doyon, is also wholly interior with villages located mostly along rivers. The villages in the other five regions are mixed, both inland and coast: Bristol Bay, Calista, NANA, Arctic Slope, and Cook Inlet.

The location and degree of continuity of traditional life in the coastal communities is important for Outer Continental Shelf considerations. Indeed most of the population of Alaska lives on the coast. Only 3 towns out of a total of 20 with over 1,000 residents are not located on a coastline. (They are Fairbanks, Bethel, and Palmer.) Also, more than half the Native communities are located on the coast (124 coastal to 98 inland). Old Harbor in a general way represents those coastal villages.

This coastal characteristic of rural Alaska is highlighted when contrasted with communities connected by railroad or highways. Only two

Native communities, Eklutna and Cantwell, lie near the one railroad line. And only a few villages are connected to other communities by roads.

Most Alaskan communities are either clearly predominantly Native in resident composition, or predominantly non-Native. Very few are approximately "mixed" 50-50. For example, only 38 communities out of the 248 appearing on the 1970 census are between 25% and 75% Native in resident composition, or alternatively 25% to 75% White. Only 9 communities fall within the narrow range of 40-60% Native or 40-60% White. This indicates that one of the characteristics of Alaska is that most communities are either very Native (over 75% Native) or very White (over 75% White). At least 114 communities are 90-100% Native (see graphs on following pages[4]); Old Harbor was 93% Native in 1970.

There is much that is distinctive about Old Harbor. Historically, this village has experienced a sequence of enterprises: After the Russian era and early in the 20th century, a herring saltry was built in Three Saints Bay, but it burned in 1931 and was discontinued. A whaling station operated at Port Hobron in the 1920s and 30s. Kodiak Fisheries Company operated a cannery at Shearwater from 1926 to 1964 when it was destroyed by the 1964 tsunami. A fish processing ship was established at the village in 1968, but it burned in 1975.

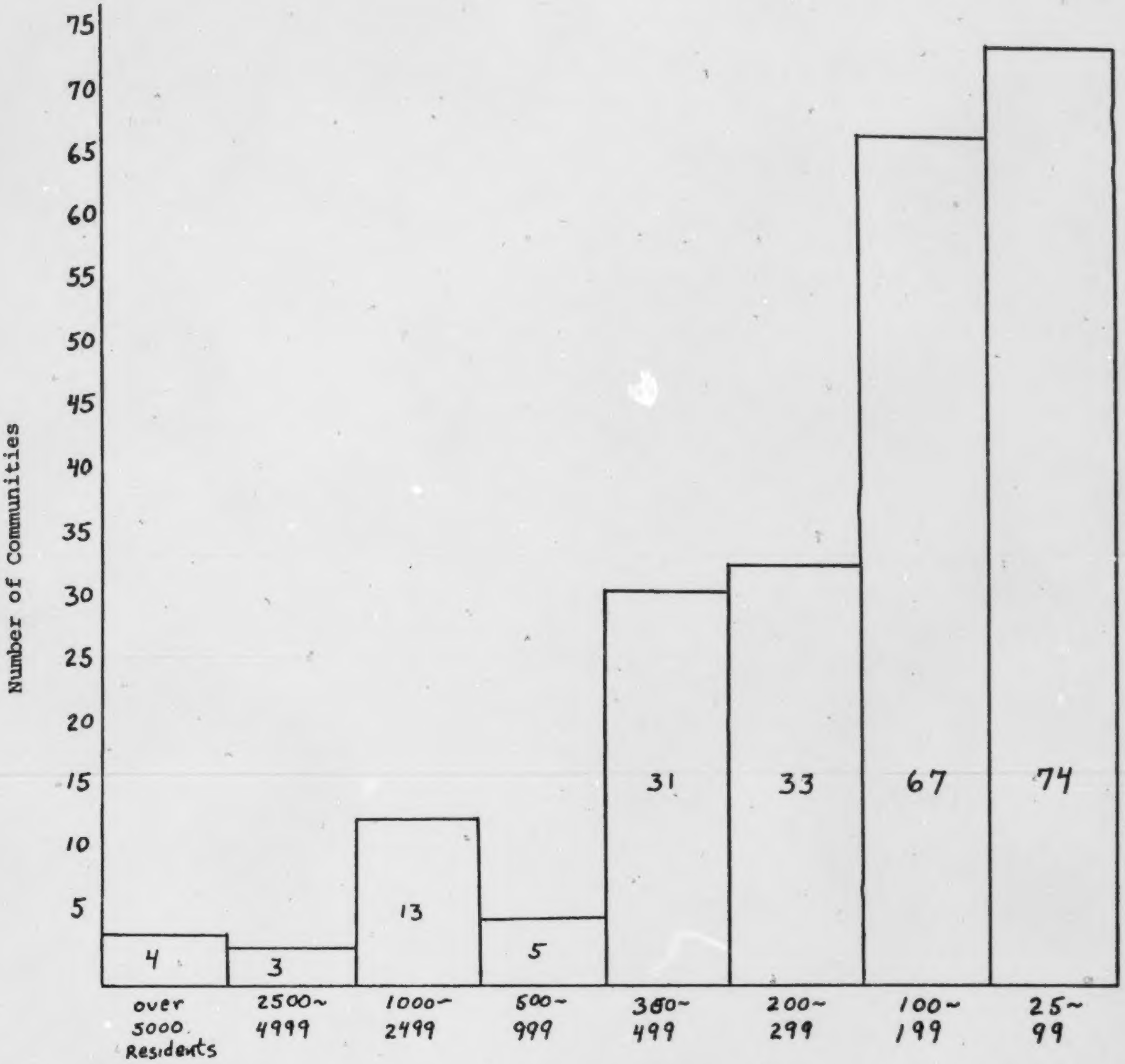
The original community was extensively damaged by the tsunami which followed the 1964 Alaskan earthquake. The village was rebuilt in the same location with electricity, water and sewer, and modern frame houses. Old Harbor represents a community which has weathered a major disaster and subsequent changes instigated by modernizing village services. Further, Old Harbor may be unusual in having maintained Native control over all the local businesses: two stores, a show house and pool hall, and an oil distributing service. All jobs, except those of the school teachers and the caretaker of the burned processing ship, are held by village people. And in the school, the teacher aide and the Head Start program positions are held by Natives. In these many ways, Old Harbor is an unusual community.

As early as 1960, Befu reported:

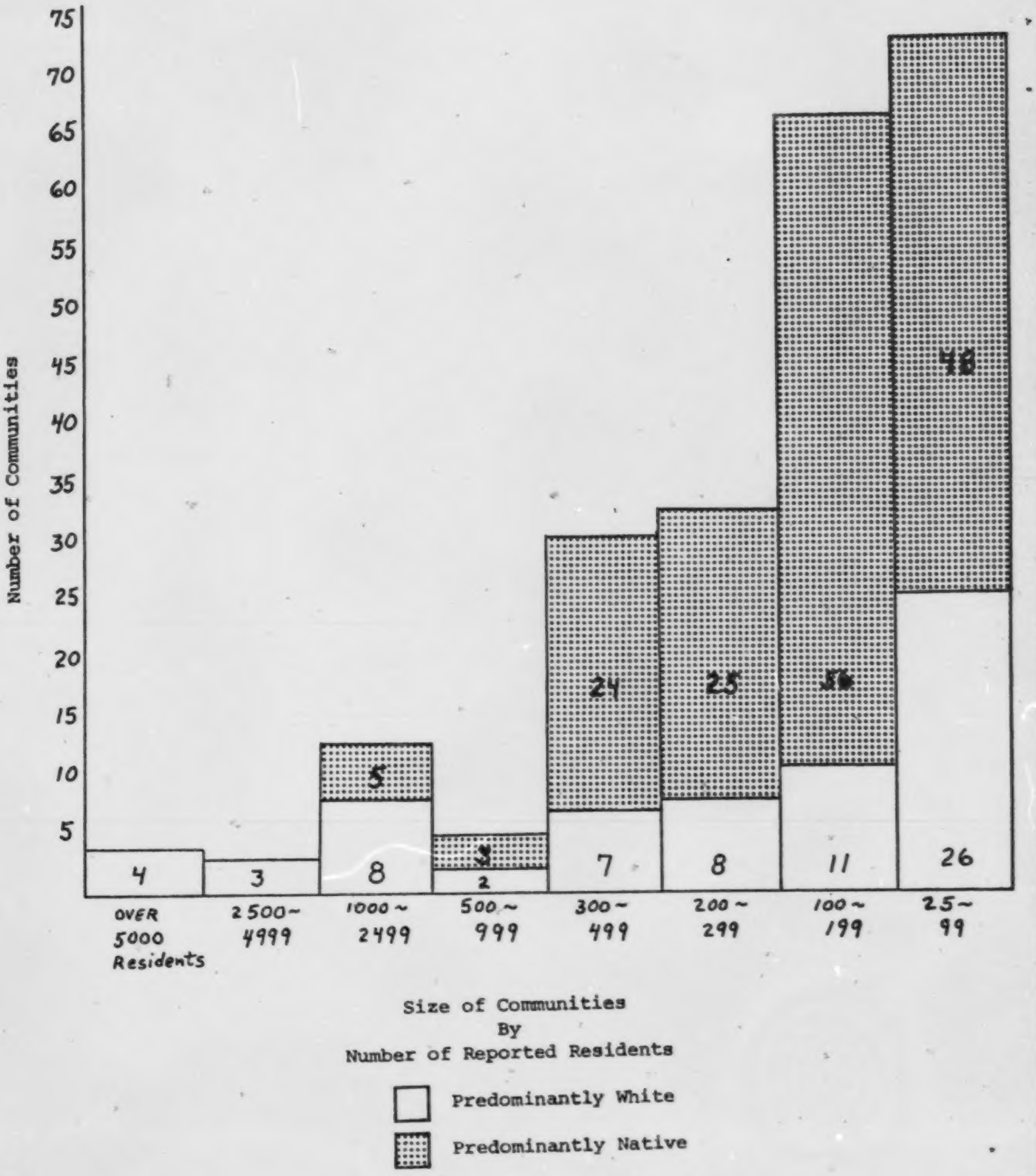
> "The inhabitants of Old Harbor have come a long way from the aboriginal way of life. Processes of acculturation have made deep inroads into the Native way of life. In 1960 the life of Old Harbor Eskimo is inextricably woven into the larger world of the White man. But it still retains to a considerable degree patterns of aboriginal living." (Befu 1970; 41.)

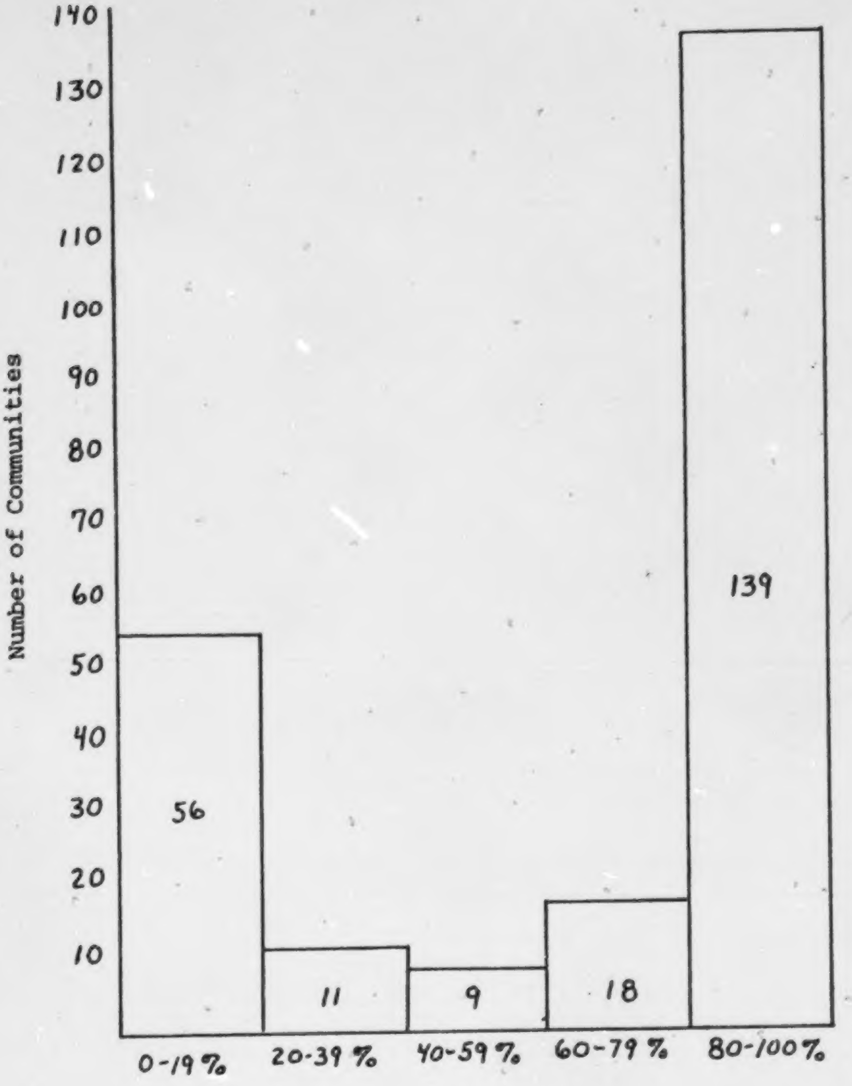
The areas which Befu found persistent included language, kinship, and the loosely organized community structure.

Events since his study in 1960 have further changed the village. (Davis 1970; 1971).

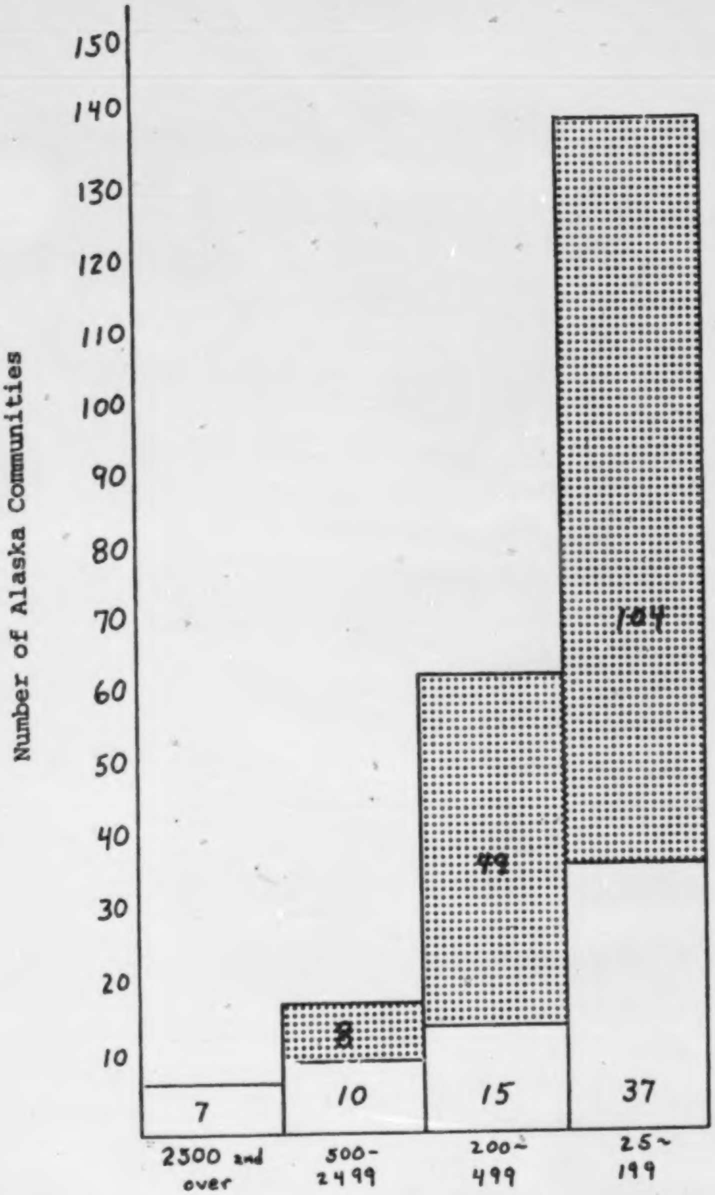


Size of Community
By
Number of Reported Residents
1970 Census

Number of Communities
75
70
65
60
55
50
45
40
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
4
3
5
8
3
2
24
7
25
8
56
11
48
26
OVER 5000 Residents
2500~ 4999
1000~ 2499
500~ 999
300~ 499
200~ 299
100~ 199
25~ 99
Size of Communities
By
Number of Reported Residents
Predominantly White
Predominantly Native



Percent Native Residents
In
Alaska Communities



Size of Communities

1970 Census

☐ Predominantly White

▨ Predominantly Native

Thus, in some ways Old Harbor is like many other Native villages. It is relatively small, physically isolated, coastal, and predominately Native. On the other hand, it is in many ways unlike any other village in Alaska. Indeed the original variations between villages have been further accentuated by the unique sequences of historical events, even when the source of those events may have been similar. The variables shaping the responses to change have been so greatly diversified, the villages of Alaska are becoming increasingly different from each other. This divergence is a healthy, creative process, but it makes it difficult to say anything really significant about one that will fit equally well to the next one.

Therefore, careful distinctions must be made in the writing and the reading of the following narrative which addresses policy-related questions. The general statements are made within the framework of my current understanding of the phenomena of culture change as I have come to view it through limited field work in nine different villages and the teaching of university courses from an urban Alaska base over the last 15 years. I cannot begin to speak to the utter complexity of Alaska-wide village culture change. But I do endeavor to provide a setting directed toward alerting us all to that diversity, and by use of the specific recent data from the Old Harbor survey, document a small portion of what can be learned from field research with local village consultants.

Population Changes

Two Land Use Planning Commission questions pertain to ongoing population changes in rural Alaska.

> "What are the general demographic trends in the villages addressed in this study?"
>
> "If there is a changing population, what are the villagers' explanations of that trend?"

Throughout human history, shifts in population have constantly occurred. In fact, one of the rare characteristics of our species is mobility between territories (sometimes at high risk). Many natural and cultural processes of population dynamics are still occurring in Alaska: shifts of villages from one location to another, the converging of one large extended family into a nearby community, the fissioning of villages over political, religious or economic conflicts, and the piecemeal migration of people in and out.

What we do not know is how fast villages are changing, in which direction, and why. Nor do we have measures of how the land claims may affect those processes, differently and perhaps selectively within the various regions. What could be established, however, is the direction of population changes since the first census in 1880, the rate of those changes, and villagers' views to explain current change or non-change.

In the 1890 census Old Harbor was a small village with 19 households, 49 men and 37 women, for a total of 86 residents. It grew steadily, as reflected in the census, to 180 living in 37 households in 1960. After the 1964 earthquake, 44 houses were built and 193 people lived in the community. By 1975 numerous trailers had been added to the periphery of the town and the households number 51, an increase of 7 over 10 years. The population had increased to 305.

Two questions in the survey were designed to elicit people's ideas about Old Harbor's population:

"Is this community getting bigger or smaller?"

Forty-three (90%) of 48 answers indicated "Old Harbor is getting bigger," as indeed it is, a continuation and acceleration of previous patterns of growth.

(Five persons indicated it was "staying about the same.")

The next question was, "Why do you think that is happening?" or as my research assistants taught me to ask, simply, "How come?"

Most people (35, or 75% of the responses) referred to the "people part" of growth: for example, "young people growing up," marrying and staying in Old Harbor; more babies (indeed, I counted 73 new children living in Old Harbor in 1975, born since 1965); more people moving in, as indicated by a family of 15 which had moved from Akhiok; and the fact that 10 of the 80 respondents had lived in the village for less than 10 years. Another 10 people simply said "more people" or "more families." Others mentioned the fact there are more houses (4), new house sites (1), a road to the new house sites (2), and that the location is good (3). Finally, 6 individuals gave a range of answers which reflect something of the "progressive," modern-aspiring aspect of the community. They commented the place was improving, "getting in style," and "civilization is entering." They cited the convenience of stores and the larger school. Finally, with pride, "we got future."

Old Harbor does indeed seem to be a thriving community, even without jobs. The actual dynamics of the influence of leadership, the 1964 earthquake and resettlement, strong ties to one church which unifies the community on special occasions, the apparent decline of other communities, such as Akhiok, may all be variables in the growth and "health" in Old Harbor. (I say "health" with qualifications for there is a great concern by some in the community over the extent of drinking and the use of drugs.)

Reasons given by recent arrivals for coming to Old Harbor provide insights to what was "wrong" with, for example, Akhoik. At Akhiok, some people said, it was too hard to get to the store at the cannery, 15 minutes away, and it was hard to get oil in, and it was too far away from the hospital in town, and the planes could not come very often. From the sounds of it, living in Akhiok was really tough in winter. But other dynamics are surely at play because for years people at Akhiok managed the hardships of winter. Now, in contrast to the many services available in Kodiak and Old Harbor, life in Akhiok may appear very hard indeed.

The factors influencing the growth of Old Harbor and the decrease in Akhiok may be operating in other parts of Alaska. Some communities have a community power plant that works at least part of the time, water systems that function part of the time, stores which provide a handy source of food and credit when tied to a major company, a viable social life, and enough of the traditional life-style to attract relatives and even nonrelatives from other villages which appear not to be faring so well.

Perhaps Old Harbor is unusual in having people from such a wide range of places. For example, only half the sample of 80 were born in Old Harbor. Four more were born in Shearwater which used to be a cannery nearby; we might assume those individuals were born in the summer and were at birth technically Old Harbor residents. Other Koniag villages represented included Akhiok, Aiyatalik, Olga Bay, Woody Island, Kodiak, Three Saints Bay, Ouzinkie, Karluk, and Larsen Bay on Kodiak Island. Thus, a total of nine other locations on Kodiak are represented in the Old Harbor survey. Residents also come from Aleut or Eskimo villages, including Chignik, King Cove, Akutan, and Egegik, and from further north, Nome, St. Michael, and St. Lawrence Island. From the south came two residents: one from Ketchikan and another from Oregon. In sum, people came from 20 different locations.

As will be recalled, increased heterogeneity is one indicator of culture change. In Old Harbor the increased heterogeneity has been Native. Old Harbor is a highly mixed Native village. Only two White residents and six White schoolteachers live there.

The change in population is quite different in Copper Center, where the documented increase has been from 206 in 1970 to 433 in September 1973 to 750 by September 1975, an increase of 73% between 1973 and 1975 alone (Smelcer 1975). This has been a markedly different kind of increase for different reasons. Old Harbor increased by the addition of more Natives attracted to Old Harbor; Copper Center experienced a tremendous increase in "outsiders" who are White.

The reasons for the population increase of the one village, Old Harbor, include the result of natural increase, economic attraction of a former local industry, decline of other villages, and intermarriage between Natives from many different villages. In contrast, Copper Center was one of the nine communities reported in 1970 with a fairly even "mix" of population (45% Native and 65% White), and the direction of population change has been a marked increase of White residents attracted (or assigned) there by the pipeline jobs. These two communities demonstrate great divergence in source of population growth.

General rural population increase also suggests that some people must value rural life, for a range of different reasons. The next section considers a few of those underlying values especially in Native village life.

Values of the Good Life

Two Land Use Planning Commission questions were directed specifically to village desire to change or not change. The first question is simply, "In what ways do the Native communities of this study wish to change?" The second part asks, "What parts of their present life do they wish most to retain?" Essentially what appears needed is village assessment of their own values.

Before considering what the people of Old Harbor said about change and non-change, a brief review of what they said they liked about their village places the data on change in perspective.

Probably the most difficult area of culture to elicit, or to articulate, concerns values and world view. Values are interwoven with so much of human life that they pervade most actions, thoughts, choices, and decisions. Because they are so pervasive and also often unconscious, attempts to get people to talk about them are difficult. Usually we all take our "life-style" for granted, the good and the bad. If enough of it is disagreeable an effort may be made to change it, or the person or family departs. But the stress of the loss, or potential loss, of some aspect of life-style or even a clearly perceived threat may lead to discussion and awareness of commonly shared values. That is, under threat of loss of something, the real meaning and value of a thing, a person, or an activity is highlighted enough to be discussed. Note the recent phenomena in many parts of Alaska of people talking about the mystical "Alaskan Life-style." The Alaskan life-style became a common topic of discussion in 1975 in urban areas apparently in response to the possible loss of some of it, whatever it is, as a result of ill-defined "impact" of pipelines, gas lines, potential outer continental shelf developments, increasing populations and all. It would seem only under the threat of loss of something of value can that value be articulated.

Therefore, it is little wonder that I encountered some difficulty in eliciting concepts of values from the Old Harbor people, who felt no particular threat in 1975. However, several assumptions may be made: people in Old Harbor like living there. Indeed, only four indicated they did not. Sixty persons (75%) of the sample had lived there more than 20 years, and only 10 persons had lived there less than 10 years. From this we may assume that people must like living there, and further that many people over the years have been attracted to living in this village (recall that they have come there from 20 different communities).

A few questions asked on the questionnaire were designed to elicit conscious values which might indicate something of what the residents of Old Harbor specifically like about village life.

In response to the question "what do you like about living here," nine people said they "just like it" and "everything," but many were more specific. Their answers suggest the range of values represented. Twenty-five (31%) mentioned, "Well, it's home," "the family is here," "I was born here," and gave other people-related responses. Specific economic-related activities of fishing and hunting were mentioned 25 (31%) times. Eleven commented that it was quiet and peaceful. Five mentioned "no traffic," which is not quite accurate for there were 11 operating trucks and miscellaneous Hondas in Old Harbor. Even during my short stay a truck-related accident occurred. But still, in comparison to the city there is relatively "no traffic." Only two persons mentioned employment; obviously jobs were not keeping them there the winter of 1975-76. (As we will see later, few people are employed in cash-earning jobs.) Other answers included "No rat race" (5), the availability of outdoor activities (3), the location (2), services (4), lack of population (2), the relatively cheap expenses compared to town (2), health, freedom, and free time. People like Old Harbor for a range of reasons and those reasons seemed not to be tied at all to a cash economy, money, or development.

In contrast, a few interviews with new White residents in Copper Center indicated they valued the money their husbands were making, but one "old-timer" likes most the peace and quiet. More extensive study of rural values may reveal that there is more overlap of White and Native values relevant to living in rural communities than there is between White, old-timers, and White newcomers. Indeed there was a suggestion in Copper Center that the old-timers and Natives in the village are closer to each other now, in common response to the newcomers, than they had been before. (Could the rapid growth have highlighted their shared values?) Yet, one most significant difference pervades White and Native values: the White rural resident probably will not indicate he or she likes a place because the relatives are all there, too. Most White residents in Alaska, unlike most Natives, have very few relatives in the state. And relatives are one thing Natives have a lot of.

Another question designed to elicit something of the values of people living in Old Harbor was this: "When is the best time of year around here?"

Two-thirds (53 persons) responded "summer." A few (8) answered spring because, for example, "things start growing then." Five persons indicated all year around was the "best time." Of special interest are the answers of those people who indicated why they liked the summer best. Only 19 indicated the weather made it the best time, but 31 said "fishing." In addition, many other basic activities characteristic of summer life in Old Harbor were mentioned: both men and women indicated picnics (14), berry picking (10), swimming (4), and the fact you can "get around more." Six others referred to it as "a busy time," again an activity-related response. (Seven different activities were mentioned a total of 66 times.) Only five persons answered this question of the "best time" with reference to "jobs." Certainly, those who indicated they like summer because of fishing like it partly because fishing is indeed cash-or-credit-producing activity. But they did not refer to the money made--only to the activity. Any plans made in the future should be cognizant of the dominance of fishing in the values of these people. I seriously doubt that any substitute activity which would produce more money, even much more, would ever adequately substitute for what fishing means to these people. Note later in this report that 80% indicate that they fish, and fish rates the highest in terms of food preferences. Clearly, fishing is a dominant value, one which pervades much of the life-style of the community, including planning, decisions, expectations, anticipation. Men quit high-paying jobs working on the new 2-mile road in the summer of 1975 in order to go fishing. It's the "fishing fever" which many Alaskans share and which somehow makes that activity worth far more than the money it produces.

On the long survey form another question concerning time of year was asked in anticipation that it might lead to some insights about difficulties of living in Old Harbor. The question was simply:

"When is the hardest time of year here?"

Winter won by far the most votes: 29 or 81%. (No one answered spring or summer and one person referred to fall.) The reasons people gave for winter being "tough" included frequent reference to "weather" (23 or 48% responses). Fourteen answered there were no jobs, suggesting a felt loss of income in winter months. Nine referred to the sense of isolation and inability to get to town if someone got sick. (Seven women in contrast to 2 men noted this.) Three men mentioned water and oil lines freeze, suggesting the inconvenience of interruption of services to which they are now accustomed. And three persons commented there was "nothing to do," which supports the positive value placed on physical activities indicated by what they like about summer. It would seem the people of Old Harbor like and prefer to be active. One of the results of their being so "acculturated" and "modern" is the decrease in traditional activity during three-fourths of the year, and heightened activity during the few summer months. Commercial fishing and cannery work has led to intense concentration of economic activity for a very short time period. The resulting cash has allowed, and the extension of credit has encouraged, the lessening of traditional fall, winter, and spring activities. The social consequences on human communities and the mental consequences on individuals of discontinuation of such activities should be explored.

The Old Harbor capacity for leisure, a value perhaps vicariously shared but not experienced by the larger society, was noted by Befu (1970). After a discussion of the pattern of indebtness to the cannery, Befu refers to the difference in values:

> "It is true that there is no opportunity for work during the fall, winter, and spring for most of them, if they wanted to work. But the point is that few Americans would prefer to live such a leisurely life if they had the choice. It is because the Natives have a different orientation toward money, saving, thrift, social

mobility, and related values so important for the majority of Americans that they prefer their way of life." (Befu 1970; 41-42.)

A point to make here is that the value system of some segments of White American society may now increasingly include such leisure and the accompanying lower standard of living. No one is suggesting that the villagers really like all that leisure and would consciously choose leisure if there were active alternatives available which would also allow them to stay in their home village, their preferred location. But neither should we assume that the majority of Americans really want to work all that hard, that much of the year, at rather dull often unrewarding jobs in order to maintain a standard of living which they are finding takes a great toll on family and physical condition.

One question was directed toward understanding what people say they want to retain of their present way of life. The question simply reads: "What do you want to keep about your way of life here?" (This question occurs immediately following the question about the hardest time of year.)

The difficulty of the question is reflected in the 5 "I don't know" answers and the 8 no answers at all - a total of 13 (27%) who didn't respond. Perhaps there was uncertainty of the meaning of the question, and its implication. However, those who did answer indicated clear support of what they have now: the people of Old Harbor want to keep "everything" (14 or 29%) and they want to "keep it the way it is" (13 or 27%). This total of 27 out of 48 suggests they rather like everything about living in Old Harbor, which was previously suggested by the fact most people have lived there for a long time.

Those who were more specific about what they liked referred to keeping their "Aleut" culture, such as language, the hunting and fishing, their religion (3), freedom (4), their peace and quiet, unity of the people, their land. One person spontaneously replied - no permanent "outsiders" living here. (Further discussion of "outsiders" appears later in this report.)

The next question asked, "What would you like changed?" Seventeen (35%) said "nothing," nine gave no answer, nine said "more job," and there were four references to improvements in the school. Two suggested unspecified changes in the city government. Other single responses included: the need for a hospital, hopes for a ferry; improvements in law enforcement, sanitation, communication, entertainment, and children's activities; and the addition of a high school. These few individuals were thinking about change, but from overall responses there appears not to be an all-out eagerness to change much in the near future.

Closely related to these questions are the responses to two additional questions which appeared at the end of the questionnaire: One of them reads simply, "Are you happy about changes in this community?" Here 63, or 79% of the responses indicated "yes," evenly divided between men (32) and women (31). Only 7 persons or 9% indicated no. The incidence of no-answer or don't-know responses was low (4). Six responses were "yes and no"; two indicated "it doesn't matter"; two said they didn't see any changing going on; and, finally, one person said "it's kinda hard," without being more specific.

The final question confirmed the overall impression of the data gathered in Old Harbor. The question asked, "Are things changing too fast or too slow?" This was designed to get a feeling of people's ideas about the current rate of perceived change, and that it did. Only 14 (17.5%) indicated things were changing "too fast." In contrast, 32 (40%) said "too slow" and another 21 (26%) indicated things were changing just right. (The other responses including no response (2), don't know (7), nothing changing (2), and "both too fast and too slow" (2).)

In summary, it would seem the people of Old Harbor are not unhappy about current life or rate of change. This, however, could modify, should the rate of change or the kind of change include directions and content not congruent with the local perception of good change (more jobs) or bad change (more outsiders).

Changes in Economic Organization

Several Land Use Planning Commission questions were directed toward understanding something of the consequences of changing economic organization in village life. Those questions were:

> "What are the cultural effects of general expansion of non-traditional economic activity, particularly the injection of cash?"
>
> "What are the social and cultural effects of creation of new economic institutions on traditional ways of life?"

First, let us consider some general observations about that peculiar commodity called cash.

All-purpose money and the marketplace where goods, people, and land are bought and sold represent a strange new phenomena for the Homo sapien species as a whole. The special peculiarities of modern cash and jobs are especially highlighted when superimposed on a traditional hunting and fishing society.

In traditional village times, goods and services were exchanged, and sometimes understood units of value for a few items were established. However, conversion from one kind of good to another was not easy and often impossible. Further, most exchanges took place within and between kinship groups which knew each other. These exchanges were characterized by reciprocity, not by personal gain. Giving and receiving were forms of validating social relationships, not a way of getting ahead of others.

New economic institutions in rural Alaska include those agencies associated with the giving of money and services to village people, a very different kind of economic exchange than that associated with the traditional system, or with working on a job for cash. In brief, receiving from an agency is qualitatively different from receiving from a relative. Receiving money or other assistance from an agency is more impersonal, with no expectation of direct reciprocity, or return. It is enough that the "gift" is received. In accepting the money, the service, or the "help," the receiver is validating the power of the giver, and accepting the right to receive from agencies which were created to provide. Conscious rationale is sometimes indicated with statements such as "they got to keep their jobs," referring to the White giver. Thus, a different kind of reciprocity is involved. By accepting the service or money, the receiver indicates that it is needed and therefore the giver's job is maintained to continue giving it, this impersonal "gift" from a faraway government whose responsibilities are envisioned to include providing jobs for its White citizens (and, more recently, to some Native residents).

In contrast, to receive from a relative, a partner, or friend is to receive a personal gift. Implied with the receipt is the recognition of the generosity of the giver, and postponed expectations of later reciprocity in the time of need, or when possible.

The change in the range of sources of money is also part of modernization. What is often not understood are the changes in human relationships which occur with increased dependency on money and wage labor.

In village life, the growing expectation of giving and receiving pay for services which were previously given without wage causes discontent, discomfort, and embarrassment, and often a conscious feeling of loss of the good old days when people helped each other out. The increased use of cash for services provided within the village, the decrease of volunteered cooperative labor, and voiced discontent with the trend are all integral parts of the kind of culture change involving money.

The increase of cash and the decrease of subsistence may result in distinct kinds of attempted resolution of changing interpersonal and intervillage relationships. For example, in some Indian villages, a great increase in goods given and received at potlatches has seemed to accompany the increase in cash and jobs. Some people think there are too many potlatches now and they are too expensive. Others view increased potlatching activity as healthy, as Indian, and as a logical means of resolving what would otherwise be untenable inequities. Through potlatching, goods and cash can be redistributed, social relationships clarified, and, further, they are a lot of fun.

Money can do all sorts of things that a hunk of seal cannot do. But what money cannot do is change the values and importance of giving and receiving traditional food and services. Indeed, the changes induced by cash may be centered on the fact that money has the potential to do all the traditional kinds of things, but it simply does not work in the same ways. Money is not a substitute for the traditional act of giving and receiving a prized item of traditional food or handicraft. Cash can be individually acquired and owned just as a seal or a dogsled can be, but the obligations and rules governing giving, receiving, and loaning are not the same.

This may be one reason for conflict in rural Alaska. There is persistence of traditional ideas about right behavior, including to whom you should give and from whom you are obliged to receive. But if the traditional goods are no longer available to give, and nothing has successfully taken their place, then you have people living in small communities with no way to establish, reestablish, and confirm their social relationships to one another.

One possible substitute for traditional subsistence sharing is the purchase and distribution of a highly regarded item, a "prestige" good. Perhaps alcohol is the only prestige item which may come near to meaning what the giving of seal, fish, and walrus used to mean. Booze can be purchased with the new exchange system, and shared, sometimes in a desperate attempt to establish and clarify key kinship relationships which may have been temporarily disrupted by absence, by an insult, by defying tradition, or by taking a cash-paying job and therefore "getting ahead" of your relatives. The pressure to drink, to periodically do the giving and also willingly participate in the receiving, may be one way some persons in some villages have for clearing the cloudy social air, fogged by the new inequities which are introduced and encouraged through the cash economy, money-paying jobs, and by the associated new social and political positions not yet legitimized.

As noted, one significant consequence of the introduction of cash is that it may louse up traditional social relationships of giving and receiving without simultaneously creating effective and acceptable new avenues for reestablishing the proper relationships with people, or the right moral order which continues to be shaped by the kinship group and underlying traditional values of proper behavior. Further, cash tends to encourage inequities in a culture which values egalitarian ethos or which had previously set a low tolerance for internal material inequity. If a community experiences a rapid injection of cash randomly and unequally distributed, then it may cause havoc with traditional kinship obligations. One person in a community on the Lower Yukon commented after one unusually "successful summer" (successful in the sense of the amount of money made) that never before had there been so many accidents and drownings. "Drinking is really getting bad here now."

On the one hand, cash may create social havoc but it also provides a haven of newly available goods which cannot be obtained through traditional means. A stack of dried salmon strips may guarantee prestige if carefully allocated to the appropriate persons, but it surely does not buy a snowmobile, a car, or a trip to town. Items and services of the modern world do provide convenience, comfort, and novelty. Knowledge of those items creates new needs, enhances newly-felt wants, and leads to conscious decisions to work for money. The ramifications it has on human relationships are an unanticipated consequence, as yet poorly understood.

On the survey, I had a hunch that a safe question pertaining to cash might be simply: "If you had some extra money, what would you buy?" I had anticipated that the items listed might indicate something of the preferences and choices of the people of Old Harbor; and perhaps, compared later with data from other villages, the answers would provide an indication of relative degree of cash dependency and awareness of what cash buys. (The potential value of this question and the answers might be better illustrated when compared with later surveys. The responses are included here for what they say about this one community's ideas about what they would purchase.)

Note should be made that no specific amount of money was identified in the original question. When the interviewee hesitated a long time, an example of a "really good fishing season" was used. Forty-two different commodities were named. For convenience here, they are grouped into seven different categories ranging from minimal living needs, such as groceries, to dreams of business ventures. The respondents were encouraged to indicate up to four items they really wanted; many stopped at one. The asking of this question was met with surprise and often long hesitancy, perhaps indicating uncertainty or the difficulty of thinking about extra money when you do not have any. The fish processing plant has burned, no jobs are locally available, welfare must be applied for, and the winter months ahead look lean. Regardless, the residents in Old Harbor indicated a wide range of things they thought they might buy if they had some extra cash.

Meeting minimal living requirements of groceries, oil, and paying bills were mentioned by 23 persons. Sixteen mentioned clothes. Specific items related to the traditional hunting and fishing economy were mentioned 25 times. Eleven people listed a boat as priority. Guns came next with five responses. Then came skiffs, outboard motors, tools, traps, and most interesting, "limited entry fishing permits for my sons." (The ramifications of permits on village inheritance rules and on cannery/village relationships are important to explore another time.)

Twenty-one persons indicated they wanted a new house. Five were interested in remodeling a portion of their present house; 18 would like furniture. Finally, rugs, oil stoves, televisions, and a washer/dryer were mentioned.

In November, 1975, Old Harbor had 11 operating vehicles, most of them trucks. Ten more persons indicated they would buy a truck if they had any extra money; four mentioned a car; and one man, after considerable hesitation, said what he really wanted was a snowmobile. Interestingly, no one mentioned a motorcycle which a few years ago was the rage. Tape recorders and radios also were not mentioned, perhaps indicating that all those who want them, have them.

Desire to travel was identified by 11 persons. Destinations ranged from towns in Alaska, to Seattle and Disneyland. Other items of entertainment rated surprisingly low: booze was listed only twice. Grass, books, and handiwork materials were mentioned once each.

Four persons are thinking about business ventures and identified they would use their extra money for an airline service, ranch, store for novelties, and one other unspecified business.

Finally came comments which must be placed under miscellaneous: a "rest for my husband," land, investments, a gym, playground equipment, and a mink coat.

This range of items indicates a sophisticated knowledge of what money can buy. Perhaps with further research the range and overall expense of items listed could be correlated with the present economic status of the persons listing their most preferred items.

Following the question about extra money, which clearly suggests a high level of ideas for what cash buys, the next question asked simply:

"What is your favorite food?"

Fourteen persons mentioned seven different kinds of store-bought food. They included steak (4), Chinese food (3), chicken (2), spaghetti (2), and one vote each for fresh fruits and produce, vegetables, and ham.

In sharp contrast to these cash- or credit-bought items, most people listed their favorite foods as traditional, subsistence foods. Highest in frequency was fish (30) and on down the line to seal (6), sea lion (7), game (5), duck (8), and wild goose and crab with one vote each. This suggests people in Old Harbor prefer to eat locally available foods, and spend their money on non-food items.

This indication of preferred foods is puzzling in light of the fact that this small community of 305 people has access to an impressive range of goods at two stores. The frequency of consumption of store-bought food and locally attained goods at different times of the year is not known, but if available that information would provide a more accurate picture of actual level of cash dependency for food products.

In general, the creation of new economic institutions on traditional ways of life may lead to several kinds of changes including: (1) new needs for cash; (2) greater economic and social differentiation with political overtones; (3) new areas of conflict, often with no new means of resolution; (4) greater spread of inequities; (5) new kinds of uncertainties from year-to-year; (6) a higher standard of living for some; (7) increase in the presence of outsiders; (8) wider ranges of alternatives; and (9) demands for new skills and work habits including willingness to work in a subordinate job, under others.

In Old Harbor which obviously has vested interests and experience with money, only 15 of the 80 adults interviewed had jobs. Of those, 12 held full-time and 3 held part-time jobs. Sixty-three persons were unemployed, and 2 gave ambiguous answers. Jobs for the employed men included storekeeper, mayor, and operator of the show house. Women seemed to hold more jobs (9), including positions as Head Start teachers, health aide, postmistress, and teacher aides.

Of the 63 unemployed, 60 responded they would like to have a job in the village. When asked if they sometimes leave the village to work for money somewhere else, 18 men and 4 women indicated "yes" they did, and 9 men and 15 women answered they did not. Five places of work outside the village were named. Three of them were probably cannery-related: Kodiak (7), Moser Bay (4), and Alitak (4). In addition, one person had worked in Anchorage and another had a stint in Seattle. One young man with six children had worked for a time on the pipeline, but when he could not find housing for his family and his wife was unhappy in Kodiak, he quit and they all moved back to Old Harbor where he is unemployed but recently elected to the council.

Seven different kinds of jobs taken elsewhere were mentioned. Some were cannery- and fishing-related (7). Others included those of watchman, houseparent, foster parent, longshoreman, laborer, and pipeline worker.

Old Harbor was suffering from lack of jobs in the village. In response to the question "would you leave this community to go to a job," 25 men and 8 women (33 of 48 respondents) indicated they would leave. Four men and 8 women (12 of the 48) said they would not. At least in November 1975, many people would consider leaving. How far they would choose to go, for what kinds of jobs, and for how long, remains unknown. One might suggest that if they really wanted jobs they would not be in Old Harbor, and the fact that they were choosing to have a lean year in their own home village may in itself indicate something of local preferences and values.

The following question was asked in anticipation of possible future developments in the Old Harbor area and in a beginning effort to ascertain village perspectives about new jobs which might accompany those developments:

> "If something happened near this place and lots of new jobs were to open, do you think that would be a good thing or a bad thing to have happen?"

The nature of the development, the nearness to the village, or the kinds of jobs were not indicated, yet 69 of 80 (86%) answers indicated that it would be a good thing (32 women and 37 men). Seven persons thought it would be bad and three indicated it could be both "good and bad." As additional comment, 32 persons indicated it was their need for jobs that led them to state it would be a good idea (34 did not comment). But some of the comments--"Inactivity here is bad", "Travel is difficult", and "Come home more often"--suggested they envisioned the work nearby. Two indicated it would be "okay" financially but bad socially.

Obviously cash and jobs create many changes in village life because they touch and modify many other dimensions of the people's design for living. The jobs and money are not inherently good or bad but what they do to people can be. Until the new commodities, responsibilities, and employment are integrated and mixed with the traditional, continuing village culture, they will tend to be disruptive, and the social consequences will be puzzling until people get things worked out their own way. The more congruent with local values the jobs are, the more successful they will be.

One of the Land Use Planning Commission questions concerned the introduction of a special kind of new economic institution:

> "What is the cultural impact of the movement of non-Native transients, e.g., tourists, through the Native community?"

The initial impact of tourists in and out of a community is probably not great. Indeed some communities might find it entertaining; the visitors add diversity to the scenery and possibly cash to the pocket. More important to the local community will be the support services and management employment associated with tourists and their accommodations. If such a development involves a significant non-Native component to an otherwise Native village, then the potential exists for the person or persons attempting to run far more than just the tourist facility and the Native people employed in it. Without the range of activities which formerly occupied him or her in the city, much time is left to meddle extensively in local affairs. Small villages seem somehow to really "turn on" some non-Native residents even if the newcomers envision their stay to be short. Whereas the leadership potential of these non-Natives may not have been tapped back home, wherever that was, the setting of a village calls forth their expertise--too often where they have none. Face-to-face with people skilled in a range of knowledge unfamiliar and not understood by the newcomer, the temptation to use power in local affairs may be irresistible. If "expertise" on modern topics is not clearly evident in many of the local people, the outsider, regardless of the limits of previous experience, is likely to feel "one-up." And further, the villagers sometimes unwittingly project onto the outsider expectations of knowledge and skills not actually held by him/her. Needless to say, the dynamics are complex, and everyone tries to do their best to cope, sometimes with disastrous results. Intense conflict is followed by ultimate and puzzled departure of the outsider, who claims, "I was only trying to help." The error was in trying to help in a non-village way in areas beyond his job description--ways not appropriate, and indeed threatening to the local leadership. But the temptation to power is invidious and great. Any job which calls for the residence of an outsider will be inherently plagued with unexpected difficulties. Extra care in the selection and training of local persons may involve many difficulties and expense, but the long-range investment may be well worth the effort. Then the local people will have to work out a way to cope with new jobs, new cash, and the resulting power relationships. Therein lies the opportunity for local, creative "culture brokers."

Although I did not ask any questions about "tourist facilities," the answers to one question on the Old Harbor survey reflect a sense of ambivalence and concern for potential problems which might be created if job opportunities were located too near and involved resident non-Native people. The question was: "What do you think would happen if a lot of outside people came and lived here?"

Thirty of the 48 responses were clearly negative: it would not be a good thing if a lot of outsiders came. Only 2 people indicated it would be "ok," 3 didn't know, 2 gave no answer, and 11 gave specific answers, such as "It depends on the outside people," "Village would change," and "We should do it like we used to: new people should get our permission to come."

Other answers included: "I think it would be good to have more people," "Big business would go up--it would not be good," "They would take the hunting and fishing grounds," "Ok, just as long as they bring jobs," "It would ruin the community and people," and "They would try to run this place."

In sum, it appears the residents of Old Harbor want jobs, need jobs, did not object at that time (November 1975) to developments nearby which would provide jobs; but at the same time they definitely wish to maintain their village autonomy.

Along this line of increase of outsiders, the following examples lead into the next Land Use Planning Commission question about restricted access.

The impact of increasing numbers of non-Native adjoining landowners may be illustrated with what is reported to be happening in Galena. There White residents are apparently taking over all the important positions from school board to local government. The withdrawal of Native participation seems to accompany the aggressive intrusion into Native communities by White residents, especially those who intend to stay. Fear of a literal "take-over" was also indicated in one small Yupik "city" which had divided its land into city lots and then had to face the dilemma of White people wanting to buy those lots, build on them, and develop businesses. Once I witnessed two young unemployed White men who appeared to want to "return to the land." They were harrassing the "mayor" of that small Yupik city for land. They pointed to the map of the city and demanded their right to buy several lots, and the mayor was put in a most difficult position of saying "no." I have wondered many times about the outcome of that episode, for it raises questions of legality, freedom, local control of resident composition, and the many associated racial connotations and consequences of saying, "No, you cannot live here," or, on the other hand, allowing any non-Native to move in.

One possible alternative for Natives living in communities where the non-Natives are taking over is to move away and allow that town to become predominantly White. That is what reportedly is occurring in

Craig, one of the few villages which was first predominantly Native and recently shifted to predominantly White. Some Native individuals and families have chosen to move to the nearby Native village of Klawock.

Another example of the move of a Native family away from a predominantly non-Native community occurred when a family moved from Glennallen to Copper Center and found their children much happier at school with more Indian youngsters.

It is difficult to be a minority regardless of which kind it is: Whether you are the only blond child in the whole school, or the only Native student in class. The chance of the blond child belonging to a family with position and status in a predominantly Native community is greater than that of the Native child in a predominantly White community. Therein lies the significant difference which presents such a profound problem to Native communities: power seems inevitably located in the parents of the White children.

The preceding does not mean that all Native villages wish to ostracize and eliminate the presence of White residents, but their presence sometimes creates a range of problems not really understood by anyone. Certainly some White residents are adaptable and have thrived on learning, on participating but not dominating, in small Native villages. Where White knowledge and expertise is needed, these are the kind of rare and flexible human beings the villagers would prefer.

Restricted Access

The following topic like all the others must be extensively researched in the future:

> "What are the village people's views on the cultural consequences of restricting access to traditionally used lands and resources?"

Before presenting the limited survey information pertaining to this question, I wish to place this topic within an historical context.

Traditionally, restricted access meant one Native group was encroaching on another's territory. The alternatives and rules were clear: fight or retreat. Many a cultural boundary was shifted in response to the aggression of one group toward another group's prized territory and resources. Under economic duress an occasional accommodation of an invading group could occur, if kinship could be established and the situation was understood to be temporary.

Historically, beginning with the earliest written account in Alaska, these rules and resolutions between approximately equally equipped and competing groups were radically changed toward the familiar pattern witnessed throughout the United States and elsewhere in the Colonial Period. Restricted access to the Native often came to mean unlimited access for non-Natives. The Native response to this included a few short-lived incidences of resistence, such as the Tlingits' destruction of the Russian fort at Sitka in 1802, and the Nulato massacre of 1851. Another response to encroachment was migration elsewhere, as documented for the Lake Iliamna people who temporarily left the area to avoid the Russians.

However, the most common long-run reaction seemed to be puzzled accommodation followed by reluctant resignation. For example, the hardest hit areas in terms of the greatest change in population and land ownership was Cook Inlet. The Indians of Eklutna, who had a village site on Ship Creek, watched in 1915 as the land was literally surveyed out from under them, making them squatters on their own land. An old man in Upper Inlet reflects:

> "Sometimes I mad about it; we lose our rights, our hunting rights, our fishing rights that has been taken away by American law. The olden days they got the squatter right (in Anchorage). They should have helped those people file for their land. But they told the people not to worry. They had a mayor. Then the engineers surveyed for the town site. They surveyed it out from under us. What can we do?"

As more and more land and available resources were taken up and allocated to the newcomers, some villages were abandoned, and the remaining communities had to accommodate the Indians who left their traditional land. This caused added stress on the few resources left in the host village. "They moved here because all ground taken away by the White people. So they hurry up and come to this place."

An example of another kind of accommodation is that which occurred at another location in Upper Inlet where the lake water used by Indians was contaminated by a homesteader's dogs and the woods where a family traditionally got fuel was made unavailable by other surrounding homesteaders. Amazingly, despite restrictions, the Indians there continue to live an Indian way of life, with strong kinship ties, regular steam baths in the traditional style, and fishing for the few fish available from their small summer site on the Inlet.

At both Eklutna and Knik we find the epitome of a cultural group being literally surrounded by the modern world, yet choosing to participate only marginally in that world. If it can happen in Upper Inlet, the most intensely affected area in Alaska, we may predict much greater persistence in other areas less traumatically surrounded and sandwiched in.

An extreme example of the tendency of small kinship-based groups to accommodate the White strangers may be found in the court hearings of one of the many "unlisted" villages during 1974.[5] A woman openly stated, in effect: "We let them come. Sure. They were nice people. They were our neighbors." How else do you treat a stranger who is not a relative, nor yet an enemy?

One aspect of modernization is the depersonalization of human relationships. In traditional society, all one's acquaintances were either relatives, potential relatives, or enemies. There was simply no place for a permanent stranger, which partly explains why so many of the earlier travelers and traders were literally adopted into families and then made a relative through eventual marriage. There was no social category for "stranger."

One of the new skills being learned in small communities is not to treat the stranger with quite so much warmth, as more and more people come through. The teachers in one small southwestern Eskimo village reported to me that in 1969 a total of 52 official visits, mostly governmental, had been made to the village during the nine-month school year. One wonders how many more there are now, and what the total costs of those visits might be.

As one result of the increase in "stranger" traffic (and perhaps concomitant suspicion about visitor intent, as it might infringe on access to their traditional land), some communities are becoming less friendly. In a sense, they are increasing skills of maintaining distance with the stranger, no longer welcomed as a potential relative but more frequently as a potential enemy.

The range of responses of the Koniags of Old Harbor to a specific question concerning traditional access to their land reflects a whole range of past responses and to some extent anticipates potential future reactions. In order to see these answers within the context in which they were solicited and given, note must be made that the kind and location of possible limitation was not specified in the question, nor were the people in November, 1975, threatened or aware of any threat to their traditional activities.

First, a number of questions were included on the questionnaire to assess what the preferences and views on hunting and fishing were at the time.

In response to the question "Do you ever go hunting," 50% of the 48 responses indicated they did, including women. Only three men said they did not go. Three men and three women indicated they used to go. A wide range of preferred locations were given.

In response to the question "Do you ever go fishing," 75% of the sample indicated they did: All the men and 10 of the women in the sample went fishing; only 6 women did not go fishing, and 3 more indicated they used to go. Again many locations were identified in response to "where do you like to go."

Next came the question eliciting local preference:

> "If you could only go hunting or only go fishing, but not both, which one would you choose?"

As might be anticipated in this coastal, fishing-oriented village, only 6 (7.5%) of the 80 responses preferred hunting. Two individuals indicated neither, and 8 (10%) gave no response. But 64 persons, 90% of the 72 actual responses, said "fishing."

When the person was asked "how come" he or she preferred one activity over the other, money and employment in association with fishing was mentioned by 40 individuals. Six said "I like it" and five indicated fishing was "more fun." Others replied they were "brought up on it," and one man said it was a real "fishing fever" that drew him every summer to fishing.

After these questions about hunting and fishing, the following question was asked:

> "What would you do if you could not go to your favorite place for fishing or hunting?"

Six people gave no answer, a legitimate response to what may seem like a strange question. Two persons replied, "I don't know," three indicated they would do nothing, and four others said they would stay home. Three persons gave strictly economically-related responses: two said they would have to go to work, and the third said he would starve. Some persons provided alternatives as to what they would do: three substituted other traditional activities such as "hunt wherever I can go," "go clam digging," and "berry picking." One man said he would "play cards," and a woman replied she would "play bingo." At the other end of the spectrum of answers, four men gave answers which were clearly militant: for example, "I'd go anyway, on a stormy day" and "I'd raise holy hell."

Overt resignation to limitation of traditional activity is reflected by three who said they would "leave Old Harbor and go someplace else," by the one who commented, "If you can't go there, nothing you can do," and by the four who said they would stay home. But one man indicated the psychological implication of limitation to his fishing and hunting rights. He said he would "go crazy." Another man gave a reflective answer that he "would have to find out why you couldn't go."

In sum, the overall response to the questions of what individuals would do if they could not go hunting or fishing in their favorite place appears to be of the accommodating nature. Most people, without previous discussion, and without actual known threat of loss of access, anticipated they would do nothing, or at least do nothing that would violate the limitation. However, the four clearly militant answers were by men with significant positions in the community. In the future, in contrast to the past, increased militancy, accompanied with new knowledge of what to do and how, can be anticipated. Indeed, asking the villagers this question after a discussion of a real threat and alternatives, would undoubtedly radically shape their individual responses. Further, seeing this report and what everyone else answered will itself act to modify individual answers. What the people of Old Harbor individually said they would do in November, 1975, is not what they would say or do now. Neither may we assume other villages would provide the same responses. However, this survey does reflect a range of response, and records for one village at one time a general "tone" concerning potential action. Perhaps in the range of the Old Harbor responses lie implications for the great continuum of rural Alaska. Both within and between villages, the degree of militancy versus quiet accommodation has varied in the past, differs greatly now, and may be profoundly modified in the future by as little as one real or imagined threat or by one spokesperson.

For further discussion, changing access or even the timing of access to traditional activities may have profound effects. For example, traditionally, Indian bands in the Yukon gathered together for a time, followed by a splitting into small family units, followed by a regathering of the band at least four times a year. This allowed a tremendous diversity of economic and social activity. When the food supplies could support it, people lived in larger groups and then separated when either the food ran low or social life became brittle with conflict. This inherent flexibility in mobility is greatly altered by permanent residence requirements. If permanent residence is accompanied with limited access both to diversity of activities and to opportunity to "escape" the stresses of group living, then new complex problems arise. If new solutions, acceptable alternatives, are not devised, then the situation deteriorates and a tremendous loss of human potential is witnessed.

Another example of the deleterious effect of changing the timing of access is reflected in the Copper River area where one Indian reported to me that the best fish always came at the end of May, but regulations disallowed taking any fish at that prime time. People had to wait for the seemingly arbitrary date of June 1 before catching the first precious salmon. What the persons who made the regulations do not know was that traditionally a very important ceremony was performed when the first salmon was caught. How can that traditional respect to the return of the salmon be given when all the "first salmon" must be allowed to run by?

Another difficulty with externally imposed regulations is their inflexibility. In the Chitina area from 1910 to the 1930s, strict limitations had to be placed on hunting and fishing because of a great increase in White workers in connection with the copper mine. When the mine was closed and the railroad taken up, the original need for regulations was eased; only the original inhabitants and a few others remained. However, they still could not fish and hunt as needed--and the Natives' need for meat and fish was great. Now they had neither the jobs and access to cash, nor did they have access to subsistence. "We were starving there in the village, and the sheep were right up there on the mountain and we couldn't hunt them."

A kind of awe or fear seems to accompany regulations. Natives have reported to me they feel checked on all the time and are made to feel guilty even if they have not caught their limits. For example, one person reported someone came up to count the fish on a rack, saying "there looks like there are more than 200 (the limit) here." The fear and suspicion is profound and probably far greater than is necessary. Most Natives have obeyed the laws as they understood them.

I have heard of two different cases of single moose being taken one day out of season to feed large families--and the men being put in jail. The injustices of only a few acts which happened years ago live on in the oral tradition of the people. In contrast to the constant, suspicious watching they feel they get, Natives can report numerous examples of White men taking more fish than legally permitted and killing animals and leaving the meat.

The disparate ability to go after subsistence resources is also noted. White people more often can afford the vehicles which provide access to more animals, while the Native people cannot afford to own and operate airplanes, swamp buggies, air boats, and the like. The inequities of Native limited access to their traditional land and resources and the greater mobility of White people, coupled with remembered injustices of the past, do not create an atmosphere of mutual trust between the dominant society and the people who were here first. Against a history of misunderstanding and the obviously greater power of the White-dominant government, the need for radical changes in relationships are highlighted.

Finally, on the topic of access, the desire to go to a favorite location, plus the psychological and sociological need to go there, will persist far beyond any future time when there may be no more fish, or animals, or berries left, or when access is declared legally taboo. Therefore, it behooves the Land Use Planning Commission to make great efforts to involve the villagers in contributing to any recommendations which may lead to any future restriction.

Before restrictions are made on any lands traditionally and currently used by Native peoples, the exact use and meaning of the range of uses must be elicited and several alternatives devised with the village people. If, for example, a basically hunting people had a choice between continuing limited hunting or limited fishing, they would surely choose hunting.

Also, the time of year when specific activities take place should be ascertained. If, for example, a choice must be made between a winter activity which is critical for social (not just economic) reasons, and of a predominantly summer activity, then which is most important and for what reasons should be determined by the village people most directly affected. In some areas people are increasingly involved in summer wage jobs. There the loss of some traditional summer activities may be of lesser social and economic impact than the loss of a significant winter activity which provides individuals and whole families with the diversity of physical activity essential for the social health of the village and the mental health of its residents.

Consideration of decision options should include not just the obvious economic or caloric values of subsistence food. The importance of the associated traditional activities may actually be intensified under the stress of change away from them. Therefore, in all probability, the continued availability of access to traditional activities may be more important in the future than in the past. Those activities, and the social meanings associated with them, may be increasingly critical as villagers struggle with the internal diversification and stratification which seem inevitable for those communities choosing to modernize. Even if you have a good wage-paying job, the need to go hunting and fishing will persist far beyond the physical need for food. Serious considerations of the mental and social health of communities must be included before decisions are reached concerning restricting access, or activity, or modifying the timing of access.

Intra-regional Ties

Land Use Planning Commission question:

> "How do the villages see themselves in relation to other villages within the region? How strong are the ties and how far do they extend?"

This section will briefly discuss a few concepts concerning inter-regional ties which may contribute information needed in future considerations of inter-village, intra-regional developments. An historical framework for changes of some traditional ties and the persistence of others may assist in understanding choices in the future.

Most Alaskan rural communities are marked by a high degree of both isolation and sense of local autonomy. Very few are connected by roads now and, certainly in the past, difficulties in transportation limited extensive political ties. However, before the establishment of roads and air service, other forms of communication such as friendships, marriage alliances, partnerships, and feasting events tied some villages to each other, demarcating out other villages which were not part of the informal cluster. In some areas of Alaska some of those traditional affiliations continue to be strong, while others have been disrupted by events such as the conversion of one village to one religion and their relatives in a nearby village to another, creating a nearly impossible social situation which would undoubtedly influence any joint economic endeavors.

Also, traditionally there were sometimes strong hostilities between communities within the same linguistic and ethnic group. Those ill feelings were periodically reinforced by raiding and by war. Underlying negative attitudes of "those other guys over there" are not necessarily lost in the modern world. Indeed before joint adventures are undertaken, be it school boards or businesses, it would be well to elicit the current degree of social relationships as indicated, for example, by visiting and marriage patterns. If you have relatives in a village and visit them often, the chances are greater for cooperation on difficult new development adventures than if no one from your village would be caught sober or otherwise with a member of the other community.

Two small examples of intra-regional differences are given here. In one area there are stories routinely chuckled over about people in different villages. For example, according to oral tradition, the people on one island were thought to be descendants of dogs. "Just look how they smile," a woman told me, baring her teeth and grinning. "They look just like dogs." Another person volunteered that she had a hard time working on a committee with a person from that place. Although she knew her prejudice was unjustified, it still was difficult to allow him credibility as they worked together. If this occurs within the same ethnic and linguistic group in the modern day, between college graduates, we can well respect how difficult it may be for some to work cooperatively with individuals of a different Native group. These inter- and intra-ethnic feelings are basically similar to those which occur between and within ethnic groups living side-by-side in the city, and frankly probably similar to those I felt against kids from California when I was growing up. We Sitka kids gave them a terrible time; I was in graduate school before I consciously recognized my inexplicable, discriminatory attitude toward Californians.

This brings up yet another topic relevant to culture change in Alaska. The non-Native residents represent a tremendous range of differences in social and economic status, and they come from many different states throughout the nation. The range of differences they represent both in origin and in terms of affiliations is probably even greater than the range of cultural differences represented by Alaska Natives. Add to the mix the differences the White newcomers represent by birth, the additional peculiarities of their specialties and training, and we may have in Alaska the greatest concentration in the smallest population of the widest range of cultures and opinions in the world. Little wonder we encounter difficulties when we attempt to discuss land. Land is the only thing that keeps us physically apart and relatively sane.

Returning now to current inter-village ties, only the recent data from Old Harbor and a few general examples from other communities can be provided here. Like so many things within the cultural, human realm, awareness of social distance and social closeness is often not conscious. You just feel good about going some places, and there are other places you would not like to visit at all. That place to be avoided may be the next village in the bush, just as it may be your neighbor in the suburb.

The original series of five questions designed to elicit village visiting patterns was, after considerable discussion with the research assistants, stricken from the first survey. "We don't go visiting much," they said. So only one question was retained. It was simply:

"Do you visit other villages?"

Fifteen out of 80 persons said yes, and 47 (59%) said no. Ten didn't give an answer, 3 said "sometimes," and another 5 said "seldom." When they do visit, rare as it appears to be, they might go to Akhiok, Karluk, and Moser Bay (cannery); but mostly, people go to Kodiak. There appears to be vague feelings of affiliation with other southern Kodiak villages (Akhiok and Karluk), but they are not close, nor is effort made to intensify them. This may be a reflection of traditional times, or it may be the gradual decline of the other 2 villages and the simultaneously growing attraction and access to the regional town.

In contrast to the vague, and perhaps changing attitudes of distant affiliation with other villages on the southern end of the island, social distance from the northern villages was clearly articulated. No one goes to Port Lions to visit; only an official meeting would take someone from Old Harbor there.

When I asked my research assistants if they thought the survey could be done in the two northern island villages, they said it could--but not by them. Better that I train a different set of research assistants there, because they would not feel comfortable going there and asking these questions.

In the Interior Indian villages, who potlatches whom may be important in establishing continuing social and kinship ties in that area. Marriage patterns between villages would also be an important indicator of inter-village communication.

The extent of present affiliation may be particularly important to consider if village corporations are to cooperate with each other on business ventures. Three villages on southern Kodiak pitched in $200,000 each to buy a cannery. However, with the history of confidence the Old Harbor villagers have in the outside-owned cannery for which they have always fished, unless more beneficial credit arrangements can be made with the village-owned cannery, it is unlikely many individuals will join and fish for a Native-operated cannery. A fisherman would risk losing presently guaranteed credit with the old cannery. When people live a marginally comfortable life with regular risks of changing luck of fishing seasons, it would appear unlikely many would switch cannery affiliation simply to support a Native-run processing unit for some long-range, poorly understood possibility of a future dividend. Remote dividends cannot compete with immediate credit.

Travel and Transportation

Changes in direction, means, and frequency of travel are part of current culture change in rural Alaska. But how much change is occurring? Rather than visiting other villages as they did traditionally, some people are now spending more time and more money going to the new northern towns and cities. In what ways might this trend weaken traditional intra-regional ties while simultaneously creating new interregional ties? At least some indication of increased travel is given by the 67% of the Old Harbor sample who said they make more trips now than five years ago.

Means of transportation to and from other communities is also changing. The whole question of roads will inevitably be controversial for many years. To assess the Old Harbor people's ideas concerning roads, the following question was included in the questionnaire:

> "If a road was ever built in this area, where would you like it to go?"

First, this question should be put within the context of the place and time. To my knowledge no recent discussion about road options had taken place in Old Harbor. Therefore, these few responses should not be used in considering whether to build or not to build roads. (Indeed, this is an appropriate time to call attention to the potential problems of surveys such as this, should they ever be used out of context and without extensive discussion of options and their implications. Let me remind the reader that this survey was given to ascertain current village views on a few general topics, but it was not given with the intent of using any of the data for specific recommendations concerning this one village.)

To continue, in Old Harbor a two-mile road has just been completed and it opened up a new area for building houses. Trucks were operated by 11 residents in November, 1975, and 14 other people indicated they would like to buy vehicles. Here now are the responses of 48 people in Old Harbor to the question about roads:

Ten persons (21%) said they did not want a road to go anywhere, but 21 (44%) indicated "Kodiak," often commenting on the difficulty of getting in and out of Kodiak by air. Five persons indicated Larsen Bay, adding that if a road was built between Old Harbor and Larsen Bay perhaps more Old Harbor people would work in the Native-owned fish processing plant there. Eight people gave no answer and 4 others indicated they would like more roads "around Old Harbor" and Big Creek. One said "not Kodiak", spelling out the problems which might be created if a road were to connect with the road there.

In summary, it would seem that Old Harbor people do not visit communities other than Kodiak very much. They report, however, they are making more trips than they did five years ago. A preference for a road to Kodiak is preferred, confirming growing attraction of the nearest town.

Intercommunication and Cultural Contacts: Government/Village

One of the general areas of concern in Alaska is village perceptions of State and Federal government. The 2(c) study directs attention to this issue. Also, a paper called "A Village View of Agencies" (Davis 1969) indicates communities can reach a point of agency saturation. Still, despite the contrasts between the rural, ethnically distinctive life in villages and the highly specialized and stratified life in government, which is also ethnically distinctive, efforts toward communication continue to be both necessary and desirable.

Two specific Land Use Planning Commission questions pertain to government/village communication. They are:

> "What are the villager's perceptions of State and Federal government?"
>
> "What means are most appropriate for government to elicit and understand the general sentiment of a Native community on public policy issues?"

Village perceptions of the numerous visitors and the services they provide, or promise to provide, are difficult to elicit for many reasons. One reason is that it is risky to really "tell it like it is." Villages tend to be highly conscious of their images and how they are viewed by other villages and by the government. Therefore, it is sometimes threatening to disagree with officials and may be considered daring to speak up at all. In at least one incident, a council member stood up and questioned a housing representative on important, legitimate issues, and then resigned from the council because he feared that he might have jeopardized his village's opportunity to get new housing. The fear of a bad report going into Anchorage is likely to keep at least some villages silent, even when the officials honestly want villagers' ideas, value their opinions, and would welcome dissent. However, the mode of discussions and exchange of differences which is such a part of the larger world may appear puzzling, impolite, and downright inconsiderate from some villagers' standpoint.

Several survey questions were directed to elicit information about governmental visits to Old Harbor:

> "Do you think government people should come here more or less often?"

Of the 80 responses, 44 indicated they ought to come here more often, 16 thought less often, one asked, "What kind of government people?", and another commented, "It is good to have them."

When government personnel do visit a village and call a council meeting, they should realize that many people never attend and would not speak up if they did. In response to the question "have you ever talked about your ideas at a council meeting?", 12 of 29 men indicated they had not and none of the women had ever spoken up. Thus, 73% of the sample of 48 residents reported they had never spoken at a council meeting.

Next, concerning official visits, came the question: "How long should they stay?" The answers ranged from a shrug and "I don't know" to "Get their job done, (then) get the hell out of here." Eight persons recommended a stay of from one to four days. Six others suggested from one to two weeks. Five thought the visitors should stay until they get their business done. Two indicated, "Stay as long as they like."

Clearly, part of contemporary village life is the coming and going of government personnel, who sometimes get stranded by weather and look miserable. Village people need more time for discussion of issues, yet may feel ambivalent with having to accommodate the stranger for any length of time.

As noted earlier, some individuals have become increasingly hostile, even threatening, to government personnel who used to find much more openness and friendliness in the same villages. This may be a kind of militancy in the sense of a vigorous, unrelenting espousal of a cause or movement, which includes emphasizing self-confidence. This aggression or apparent anger occurs in some villages and not in others, and it is generally concentrated among younger men and women. The reasons for these developments are speculative, but I wish to suggest the following considerations: The change in expected behavior may be related to the Land Claims Act of 1971 and the new dignity derived from the power and influence it has allowed some Native people. However, I believe increased "militancy" would have occurred anyway and in some areas was occurring long before passage of the Act. It is a part of a whole movement toward self-determination which is occurring throughout many parts of Native North America. Perhaps we should be surprised that it is not yet more widespread in Alaska.

Should militancy continue to intensify, and I believe it will, then we must all make efforts to understand it. One way to start to approach this subject is to recognize its relevance to our concerns about the changing land status and the associated changing relationships between peoples.

Here I propose that the increasing militancy in Alaska is inevitable. It is one effective mechanism for declaring the right to be who you are in the struggle for identity, it is a part of self-determination, and it is a part of modernization. No longer need the Native Alaskan act in a passive, receiving, accepting, unquestioning manner, and no longer is the stranger guaranteed a polite, submissive welcome. Rather, the impersonalization of human relationships and social distance is growing--another symptom of modernization in village style.

The contrast between the anonymity which occurs in the city and the total lack of it in the past in the village has been noted by many traveling personnel. Now, instead of the previous "warm welcome" which so often led to unfulfilled promises and associated frustrations and scapegoating, the new angry youth attempt to reject those traditional relationships between themselves and the outsiders, and perhaps also between themselves and the elders who may seriously question their techniques. As new confidence is gained and new kinds of more balanced relationships are established, the negative, seemingly disruptive behavior may change. As new social and business skills are learned by the Native young people, and the traditional, often covertly condescending attitudes and demeanor of the outsiders are unlearned, then new, more appropriate, and mutually respectful behavior can be learned by all. In the meantime, I personally hope that not too many villages will self-destruct in the paralysis which youthful rage may create, and that both sides will recognize and tolerate insofar as possible what may be an absolutely necessary sequence, which is both the consequence of radical, disruptive change, and the creator of more. Perhaps only through revolutionary changes in human relationships, such as those reflected in the most militant individuals, can some communities create and establish a new social order, with themselves in control of more decisions and responsible for the consequences. In the meantime, efforts must be made in government, in the villages, and in the regions to understand that outright anger may be the only option available for some individuals in some communities. The movement will grow and intensify before it levels off and new human relationships are established within the villages and their incredibly complex kinship, and now business, ties. Eventually, new relationships between the village and the world beyond, including other villages, other corporations, other regions, and other segments of the modern world will evolve, hopefully creating a healthier atmosphere for all.

Overall, the most difficult questions for the people to answer concerned the government. All three village assistants confirmed this, and I ran into it also. However, some interesting responses were given to the following:

> "The government is interested in learning your ideas about land and about change. How do you think they should find out?"

Indicative of the difficulty of this question, 18 responded they did not know and 13 more gave no answer at all, together constituting 39% of the sample.

Out of the 80 answers, 33 indicated the government people should "come here" to the village; 5 more said, "Ask." Only 3 suggested letters be sent and only 2 recommended seeing the council. Four volunteered that a questionnaire like this one might be used. Single responses included, "Ask the land people," "Talk to the people," "Go through the mayor," "Go through the regional corporation"; and finally one person simply commented, "The land isn't changing much" (so why come?).

One outcome highlighted in this research is that, not only does government have problems in knowing how to elicit and understand village views, it is not easy the other way around either. Somehow new skills and understanding and means of extending understanding need to be developed.

In any case, a visitor in an official position is not seen as a threat in Old Harbor. Indeed, the annual parade of miscellaneous shapes and personalities must by now be a part of village entertainment in most parts of Alaska.

Clearly, the Land Use Planning Commission is concerned about the appropriateness of formal public hearings in small rural communities. If input from villages is to be obtained, some appropriate means must be found to get it, but it may not be in the form of public hearings.

Initially, a question about public hearings was on the Old Harbor questionnaire. However, when it turned out that the village research assistants did not know what public hearings were, had never attended one, and did not think anyone but perhaps the mayor had, that question was dropped. A new one was inserted which simply asked if the person had ever talked about ideas in a council meeting, which was the local idea of a "public hearing."

At a later time I met and talked with an Indian woman who had testified at the public hearings held by the Land Use Planning Commission at Copper Center. She indicated that many people who wanted to speak could not say anything.

> "It scared you off. It was like court. You are supposed to be there to state what you think...but that videotape, that was hard....If I had a little more time, I would have stated I did not like the manner the hearings was held. It was hard enough without them acting (like) they had us in court."

When I asked if she thought that public hearings should be held at all, she said:

> "Yes, they should. Take down their testimonies, taping and transcribing, but do not videotape, and don't interrupt."

In sum, it would appear at this point that public hearings in some communities would not be the most appropriate way of eliciting information. In villages accustomed to formal speech-making it may be an acceptable format, with modifications. The size of community, degree of formal political authority held by spokespersons traditionally, and level of experience now held by a representative number of all segments of the community should be considered. Further variation will be indicated by asking each community: how best can ideas get to the government. Obviously, letters are ineffective as most small communities base communication on oral, personal exchange. Further work on the range of means for obtaining and exchanging information needs to be explored.

Social Organization

No essay by an anthropologist could possibly ignore at least fleeting reference to social organization, the real bailiwick of the social anthropologist. But the kinship and social arrangements of people in village Alaska are so incredibly complex and diverse, time allows only an uncomfortably brief comment here; first, on new voluntary associations in village life, and second, on what may be an interesting social phenomena in the Copper Center area.

One important indicator of culture change in the direction of modernization is the increasing number of voluntary associations which bring people together around a specific interest or activity, crosscutting kinship lines and integrating the otherwise fragmenting processes of diversification and specialization.

Traditionally in Alaska there were several kinds of "clubs" in different regions. For example, the kashim, or men's house, functioned as a kind of local club, a social and work center for all the men and boys in most Eskimo communities. In the larger villages there might be two or three such centers. Also, in the north, the whaling boat crews were organizations which cross-cut kinship groups and were organized under leaders during specific times of year. However, generally such clubs and partnerships were not at all like our urban models of the Elks, Masons, women's clubs, League of Women Voters, Jaycee's, etc. The traditional groups were similar only in being affiliations of one sex, but the relationships to a kashim or to a partner in another community were much more intense, pervasive, and permanent.

One of the problems of a rapidly growing community includes how to integrate newcomers. About the only way to do that is include them in a non-kinship-based, special-purpose group. Thus, we may ask, just how modern in an organizational sense are the people of Old Harbor? Have they formed sewing clubs to integrate the new residents? Are the men organized in a social club of some sort? And if so, how active are the clubs, and how many people belong to them?

I found in Old Harbor a phenomena which I anticipate would be found to some extent in many small rural communities. Only one organization ties the community together: the Church. In other villages where more than one church exists, then the church tends to become the focus of significant splits within the community, a force further fragmenting rather than uniting the residents beyond their kinship ties. Truly functional voluntary associations serve to integrate significant segments of a community on issues other than kinship. The pool hall may be the modern substitute for the traditional kashim for the men, and the stores appear to be social centers for almost everyone. In addition, other kinds of special-purpose associations exist and touch to different degrees a few residents. The following is an analysis of responses to two survey questions:

The first was: "Do you belong to any organization like a club or church group?" Out of 80 responses, 48 or 60% indicated they did not. But 31 said they did and the list was impressive. Seventeen, or 55% of the positive responses referred to the church: the church itself (7), the choir (4), church committee (3), and the church Sisterhood (3). The fact that nearly everyone is baptized Russian Orthodox but did not report they "belonged" to the church may indicate an error in perception of the question, or the question was poorly worded, or perhaps attendance at services was not interpreted as "belonging" to an "organization." (If this question is used again, delete the word "organization.") Three of the men belong to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, though there is no local chapter. Others listed the American Legion and a carpenters' union. The remaining 8 "organizations" cited were local, such as city council, the school board, the health committee, and local branches of larger organizations such as the Cooperative, Head Start Parent Advisory Committees, and health aide programs.

Another question concerning "organizations" pertains to leadership in those organizations. The answers to the question, "Do you hold any office or position?" gave some unexpected results. A total of 16 (20% of the sample) indicated they held office. Seven of the 15 men who said they belong to an organization also held an office in at least one. Nine of the 16 women held office, but in a much narrower range of organizations.

Among the positions held by men were those of directors on the boards of the village corporation (6), the Kodiak Area Native Association (2), the Community Enterprise Development Corporation, the Koniag regional corporation, and the Kodiak Area Community Development Council, members of the village council (4), the mayor and vice mayor; a member of the co-op and its president, a Kodiak Island Seafood official, president of the Education Committee, and church treasurer. Women were lay readers in the church (2), members of the health committee and Head Start, treasurer of the school board, and one woman was a "board member" but it is unclear which board.

There may have been some confusion whether it was membership or actual official position that was indicated. In any case, several facts are clear: Men hold most of the offices available, but more women indicated they are involved in local organizations. A few individuals have many diverse positions. For example, the mayor is also president of the village corporation; a member of the boards of Kodiak Area Native Association, Community Enterprise Development Corporation, and Koniag regional corporation; and the Vice President of both Kodiak Area Community Development Corporation and Kodiak Island Seafood. This total of seven positions is half of the different positions generally open to men of Old Harbor.

The women's activities suggest their involvement was strictly local and directed to education, health, and the church, perhaps traditional themes for women's concerns. In sum, the men hold more political positions, but women hold more of the few available jobs. Compared to 10 years ago, many new jobs and many new organizations have cropped up in Old Harbor. Only an extended stay and extensive research would allow an assessment of the degree of their integration into the current, modern life of the village.

Copper Center offers a different kind of complexity for our understanding of rapid culture change. The difference is partly the accident of original ethnic groups, of location, and of history.

First of all, there appear to be three physically distinct Copper Centers. There is the Indian village, the Copper Center Lodge and associated establishments, and finally the voting district. To some residents, "Copper Center" represents the 3-1/2-mile stretch of road from the village to the houses south, just beyond the bridge.

From a social point of view, there may be as many as six segments of the dispersed community: (1) the Indians who have lived in the vicinity for generations; (2) the Indians who have come from other areas within the Ahtna region; and (3) Natives from other parts of the state who have married in, or who are temporarily working on the pipeline in the Ahtna area. On the White side, the lines seem more clearly demarcated: (4) the old-timers, who are further subdivided into those over 50 whom everyone agrees are old-timers, and those descendants of the traditional old-timers who have been only recently allocated the same term, "old-timer"; (5) all those other White residents who lived there before the pipeline and in response to the recent arrival of outsiders, now class themselves as old-timers, regardless of how recently they themselves arrived. Finally, (6) the outsiders, recently arrived, are divided into at least two subgroups: those who are working for pipeline-related local businesses, such as the trucking company, and those called "pipeliners" who live in the pipeline camp and work directly for Alyeska. How operational these divisions are in fact remains to be documented, but the outlines of the social segments of the White community were clearly suggested by the interviews with White residents. The Native segmentation is at this point conjecture, but I suspect if I talked with more of the Native old-timers, they are aware of increasing complexities in the Native part of the population as a result of both the pipeline and the regional corporation.

To my knowledge, nothing ties these disparate parts of the community together other than the accident of some 750 people being located along a common 3-1/2 miles of road. One of the most difficult aspects of rapid culture change is the gross lag between technology, the highly specialized jobs which it requires, and the fragmentation of human relationships which seem to accompany the development.

The Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement[6]

Traditionally, each village in Alaska was an autonomous unit--socially, politically, and economically. Some villages were tied by a network of kinship to other villages; and on specific occasions those kinship ties had significant political and economic consequences, for example, during inter-village feasting and during feuds, raids, and war. However, uniting beyond the village level was rare and almost always in response to a specific social event or economic crisis. Usually each village for most of the year had autonomy over its own affairs.

One of many changes which has occurred in village life is the piecemeal loss of autonomy and self-sufficiency with concomitant social and economic consequences. The Act seems to intensify that process by legalizing further loss of village and cultural autonomy not only to the major society but also to each other through the regional corporations. To survive, the corporations must increasingly become a part of the major society, sharing its underlying values, motivations, skills, tactics, and profit-making orientation and commitment. Increased stratification and alienation within and between Native communities along new lines appear inevitable.

One erroneous concept held by some non-Natives is that Native people in the past held "uncontrolled communal ownership" of the land. But, in fact, main resource areas and the goods they produced were not communally owned, nor was the kind of ownership which existed "uncontrolled." Rather, often highly strict rules of ownership, inheritance, use, and access prevailed. These concepts were more elaborately developed and demarcated in areas where the population was the most dense, i.e., western Alaska and along the coasts. Further, the products of the lands and sea were not equally shared. Rather, complex rules governed their distribution.

Equality may have been the ethos, but, in fact, people were unequal in status, in kinship numbers, in rights, and in power. The range of inequality varied, but no human group to my knowledge ranks all its members equally. What varies is the range of accepted, expected, and rewarded inequity.

One of the many problems inherent in the Land Claims Act is that it requires constant violation of traditionally established norms of tolerable inequity. To meet the Act's requirements, organize into business corporations, provide salaries, allocate authority, and create new hierarchical levels violates many of the basic norms of hunting, fishing, and gathering societies. Therein lie some of the difficulties encountered.

But how much actual effect has been felt in the small and isolated communities of Alaska? To what extent has the Act modified their life? One of the questions included in the questionnaire turned out to have most interesting results. The question was:

> "How has the Land Claims changed life here?"

In Old Harbor, 7 persons (15% of 48 responses) gave no response or simply said, "I don't know." Eight, or 17%, indicated things had changed "just a little bit," and 22 others (46% of the sample) said things were just the same, no change. Thus, a total of 63% indicated the Land Claims had changed life either not at all or "just a little bit."

In contrast, only two persons indicated that it had changed life "quite a bit," even "drastically." Other specific answers included statements such as:

> "More people aware what is going on."
>
> "The council is working hard."
>
> "Good changes. Make us feel good."
>
> "About 10% change. Give us something to look forward to in the future - the land that we control."

"For me, it makes things a little easier. We put it away for the kids." (This family had received a larger sum because their "village" had been found ineligible.)

Finally, one man commented: "Well, it's given a few people some jobs, but it is nil as far as money goes. Ninety-three dollars is not much."

Indeed, in comparison to fishing, to welfare, and to current rates for jobs, $93 is a piddling amount.

Perhaps other villages have felt the impact more intensely than Old Harbor. Perhaps those persons most directly affected are those whose husbands and fathers have been for years involved in meetings outside the village. One man reported he was able to live well on all the per diem, but the effects on his family were great and he had cut out some of his board memberships. The number of board meetings the same people attend could tell us something about the leadership patterns in rural Alaska. I would predict that leadership in many different positions is often concentrated in one person. And perhaps that one person's earlier leadership role was heightened during the fight for the land claims and the subsequent complications which have arisen. But when his position is not legitimized by his own community, partly because no one knows or understands what he is doing, then he and his family may have new kinds of conflict to cope with simultaneously with his frequent absences. Consolidation of power in a few people may be traditional in some villages, but the amount of power and its ramifications differs greatly now.

In sum, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act appears to be a special kind of termination act, permanently terminating over a 20-year period the Federal wardship status of Alaska Natives. What must be understood is that though the Act may end Federal and State responsibility to these culturally distinctive peoples, there is absolutely no way the Act can terminate the cultures. Human cultures are far too persistent and resilient for that to happen short of actual physical extermination of all the population. Cultures, unlike fish, trees, and people, do not naturally die. Rather they persist with amazing resilience, making a few changes here and there consistent with the underlying values, and sometimes only making significant changes reluctantly and under great duress. Further, if current values support resistance to change, then the changes which do occur may be in the direction of consciously protecting what is now, or what is perceived as what was before and ought to be now.

New Native Alaskan village cultures are emerging, each a unique mix of old and new. The rates of change within villages vary greatly in response to numerous variables currently active. Factors include: original cultural values, degree of isolation, persistence or loss of traditional values, size of dominant families, and the presence or absence of effective and legitimized leadership. The presence or absence of natural resources and access to them is only one variable and may not in the long run be the key one for predicting survival of villages, corporations, or the cultures they represent.

In a very real sense a special kind of revolution is going on in Alaska today. It is a revolution involving lands and human relationships. Perhaps the changes in human relationships are the most felt, but the land issues are the more threatening. Around them are reflected the intensity of changing human relationships between village corporations and regional corporations, between one branch of government and another, between one interest group and another. Around them all is the great web of fragmented complexity which reflects the modern world in one state in the latter quarter of the twentieth century.

Land Use Planning Commission Role

This is the last of the Land Use Planning Commission staff questions to be addressed in this report:

> "To what degree and in what ways can the Land Use Planning Commission influence the course or process of cultural change, assuming that Land Use Planning Commission recommendations are adopted?"

The Commission can significantly influence the direction and course of cultural change in rural Alaska in many ways, for better or for worse. We should assume that any recommendation made concerning any land in the State will potentially influence some communities in some ways. The question remains: which ones, how much, and in which ways?

One positive contribution the Commission can make is to take great efforts to involve in a meaningful way each rural community potentially affected by any decision or recommendation. This should include extensive discussion, suggestions of alternatives, and analysis of degree of ramifications. These would result in increased awareness on the part of both the village and the Commission of the facts, including national and State interest in selected areas of lands, and hopefully also national and State interest in the survival of the people already living there. At the same time the villagers would learn the importance of planning the necessary restrictions and new controls which would include protection for them as well as for other parts of the environment.

If decisions concerning the land in Alaska were to be based on the proportion of communities which are Native and the values represented by those communities, then the Native villages would dominate consideration of those decisions, and the range of values and knowledge that the Natives have would be incorporated in proportion to the number of distinct villages they represent. In 1970 only 69 localized communities were predominantly White. But a total of 161 villages dispersed throughout the State were predominantly Native (70% of 230 communities).

It would seem that the mature level of civilization, which now speaks of the post-industrial era, can well afford increased concern in the many small and distinct human communities of Alaska. The villagers are not living on the "fringes of inhabitable land." Rather, they are in the center of the most habitable land they know, and in choosing to stay there they are validating themselves as unique human beings, and they are validating a viable way of life, and they are validating their right to choose to live where life is most meaningful.

It would speak well of the Land Use Planning Commission to value also these human and cultural differences. Indeed, for the survival of the species it would be well to go one step further toward arriving at recommendations which would make their life less threatened, less fragile, less confronted with unsolicited forces of change. There is a marked difference between advocating the "preservation" of Native cultures and advocating the dignity of their choosing the directions and rates of change amenable and appropriate to them. I seriously doubt that any person or village wants to be "preserved" (which smells of formaldehyde). Rather, they desire the right to choose to be involved, or not involved, in the currents of development and growth. The healthiest growth for some communities may be not to grow at all, but, as their expression goes, to "get back in ourselves for a while," and then to control the growth and their response to it with increasing consciousness of the consequences of steps taken or not taken.

If Commission recommendations should lead to depletion of the range of cultural diversity, the result could also deplete the chances of long-range survival of the Homo sapiens species. Insist on common adaptation to industrialization--and risk overspecialization and ultimate demise from encroaching inflexibility. Cultures are now what genes used to be: the source of survival. Genetically we are a poky, slow-breeding animal, but culturally we are relatively quick to change. Further, we are capable of being conscious of culture change and to some degree controlling its directions. But we cannot yet significantly modify our genes. Therein lies the tremendous responsibility of the Commission and in a sense, civilization as a whole: to consciously allow and encourage cultural diversity as a special kind or investment in species survival.

If ever America could afford to allow and encourage cultural diversity, it can do so now as we bridge into a new era which must assess the deleterious modifications on human life which have accompanied industrialization. There is not much meaningful cultural diversity left in the nation. Yet surprisingly enough, thanks to terrain, isolation, endurance, and history, we have in Alaska many profoundly different cultures, unique village-by-village, representing a great range of "mix" with the modern world. Some villages are thoroughly "mixed" in technology, economy, and social life; and some eager for more of the good things of modern life. Others are less thoroughly involved, living more nearly the traditional life; and some are becoming adamant about their right to consciously maintain that alternative as their right to be human within the cultural context of choice. What is new in Alaska with the coming of development and the Land Claims Act is a wider range of choice where there was little before. And with choice comes the awesome possibility of making the wrong decisions, and the equally awesome responsibility of consciously making the right ones.

There are some limited options at the village level, but of greater potency are the options which lie in the power at State and national levels, potentially significantly influenced by the Land Use Planning Commission. Those options could include planned support to alternative life-styles and concrete steps to encourage their continuity.

In conclusion, the isolated villages of Alaska are among the last significantly distinctive cultures of the nation. Certainly these communities with their small numbers are not going to contribute greatly to our gross national income, but what they do offer may be more important in the long run: viable alternatives of culture style, intercepting differently the opportunities and the costs of the modern world. The villages are not now equally involved in cash or subsistence, nor are they choosing to be equally involved.

The question faced is this: can the nation and State afford to these villages the luxury of such choices? On the other hand, can we afford not to?

What seems urgently needed at this point is a concerted effort to seriously consider the values of cultural diversity to complement and balance better known, better understood, and also important values represented by industry, conservationists, environmentalists, and government agencies specialized in land concerns. This will take increased effort and input on the part of village Natives. And it will take increased effort on the part of many other interested parties to expand their values, planning, and recommendations to include, in addition to development for resources, scenery for visual pleasure, and wildlife for entertainment, cultural diversity for the enrichment and survival of us all.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

At the beginning of this paper, note was made of the limited state of knowledge concerning culture change in Alaska. This is, unfortunately, too often accompanied with rather sophisticated myths about the information available and about the "inevitability" of one direction of culture change. This report has endeavored to place the wide range of culture change within the context of the selected parts which are being directly affected. Clearly, villages are not going in the same directions at the same rate, and we have yet much to learn.

The discussion of the concept of culture with its many parts urged expansion of awareness of cultural complexity and our utter dependence on learning for survival. The summary on indicators of culture change outlined some of the symptoms evidenced in rural Alaska. The specific Land Use Planning Commission staff questions provided direction for the discussion of selected aspects of culture change as they are potentially influenced by Commission recommendations. The research method introduced an alternative to quick public hearings on the one hand and extensive traditional studies by social anthropologists on the other. The urgency of including village values in land recommendations is evident.

This has not been a technical research report. It could not be with the limitations of both research and time. Rather, this has been an essay by one social anthropologist who for several months thought and wrote on these topics, incorporating the new data with ideas which have been developing over the years.

Concerning the research method and the specific results presented in this paper, it is important for the Commission to have studies of villages which are resisting change, to complement the first pilot study reported here. This one study of Old Harbor carries with it the danger that unjustified generalizations might be tempting. To counteract that tendency and to begin to document the great range of levels of acculturation and directions of culture change, many additional communities should be surveyed, including the most conservative, the most resistant to change, and the most threatened by future land decisions.

Because the survey tool looks simple, I must warn against it ever being administered or supervised by anyone not extensively trained in social sciences. Preferably the task should be accomplished by social anthropologists with previous, successful field work experience in the specific area. Only experienced persons with a background of work with culturally distinctive peoples and a record of successful human relationships and established trust, should undertake such a study. Without great sensitivity to the people and to the limitations and strengths of a survey method within the larger context of a whole culture, a survey could be a disaster--for the researcher, for the village assistants, for the villagers themselves, and for the Commission. Finally, great respect for the ethics of accomplishing research with a human community is an absolute necessity.

In conclusion, the main policy implications of this report are, briefly:

1. The need for careful assessment of current situations and direction of change in each village to be directly or indirectly affected by change in land status or access.

2. Development of constant and thorough involvement of villagers on issues and alternatives, including discussion of consequences.

3. Increased awareness by all Alaskans of profound regional and village differences, for people touch the land differently and that touching is changing at different rates and in various directions.

The area of human culture is the last one to be scientifically explored. We have learned much about the world we live in, but so little yet about the cultures which allow that learning. Responsibility for intelligent assessment of the complexity of cultural diversity in rural Alaska lie with the Land Use Planning Commission members and all who are involved in recommendations and decisions which in some way touch the people and the land.

In sum, people are extensions of the land; they belong to it, and we are beginning to understand that belongingness. People, like trees, fish, wolves, tundra, clams, and caribou, are valuable renewable resources. They are clearly part of the natural systems of the planet.

However, people differ from other renewable resources in that they are the holders, the keepers, and the modifiers of a distinctly human phenomenon, culture. And human cultures are, in a sense, nonrenewable. Once a culture is significantly modified, it can never again be the same. Cultures cannot "biologically" replenish themselves, reproduce past forms, or fission off replicas of current forms. Rather, cultures are constantly changing, mixing, evolving into new and different forms. Sometimes the new forms are highly successful responses to changed conditions. Sometimes the new forms are devastating disasters to human will and happiness. Therein lies our shared responsibility.

Notes

1. Many of these works have influenced my understanding of cultural diversity in Alaska, but specific references to them in the text was not possible under the time restraints.

2. In June, 1976, after this report was submitted, I was able to return to Old Harbor for a very short visit (two days) to hold several mini-forums funded by a contract from the Alaska Humanities Forum. The postmistress confirmed that all copies of the Land Use Planning Commission tally report had been distributed to the households. On several occasions I asked for people's ideas about the research and consistently received positive responses often accompanied by a chuckle about one of the questions. Far more valuable than the solicited responses, were the two spontaneous unsolicited comments. One of the research assistants came running out of the pool hall to tell me what a big success the survey was, how everyone was talking about it when it first came, and what fun it was. Later, an elder stopped outside his house to tell me with a twinkle, "They really started getting busy around here after that report got back here." Apparently several projects for village improvement such as a drainage system were renewed shortly after the tally responses were delivered to the households. Puzzled and of course very interested, I asked as casually as possible whether he was the only person who noticed this change. "Oh, no," he said, "quite a few of us guys were talking about it." This confirmed what I had suspected: village-based research can be an instrument of change if the people wish to use it that way. However, great care must be taken that it does not become a political tool, eliciting criticism of the local government. As is noted in this report, the research in Old Harbor did indicate that things were not changing fast enough for some of the people. Apparently, when the leaders assessed this fact, they stimulated renewed activity for village improvement projects.

3. 2(c) Report: The 2(c) Report, completed by Robert Nathan and Associates in 1975, was carried out as a requirement of Section 2(c) of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. It is a descriptive analysis of the (1) socioeconomic circumstances of Alaska Natives, (2) 20 Federal programs of major benefit to Natives, and (3) a survey of Native opinions concerning Natives' needs and Federal programs.

4. The graphs are included here because they were so enlightening to me, and I believe they highlight the importance of including the very small villages in land recommendations: there are so many of them!

The graphs are based on data from the 1970 census provided in the Review of Business and Economic Conditions (1971:8(5); 1973:10(2)). Although the census may not be accurate in detail and certainly populations have since changed, still it does indicate a general outline of the distribution of size of communities in the State.

Only 230 of the 248 communities listed in the census are incorporated in the graphs. Seven military establishments and 11 communities I judged to be satellites of major cities are not included.

Here I am interested only in illustrating the approximate number of villages and the percentage of reported Native residents. Without this exercise I would not have been cognizant of the fact that nearly 70% of all the communities in Alaska are predominantly Native, and that a total of 114 communities, 50% of all communities, are villages with a reported 90% of more Native composition.

5. Unlisted Villages: Unlisted villages refers to those villages not listed in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act as eligible to receive benefits under the Act. Eligibility, determined at the time of the Act's passage, is defined as communities half or more of whose population were Native, those have at least 25 Natives who were residents, and communities not being modern or urban in character. The list is not conclusive as some eligible villages are not included and others may, in fact, be determined not to be eligible.

6. Comment on this was not specifically requested by the staff of the Land Use Planning Commission, but I wish to incorporate these ideas.

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The Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission for Alaska was created by Congress and the Alaska Legislature to provide a statewide land use planning process that will insure the economic development of the State in a manner that is compatible with the social and economic well-being of the public, their interests, and the environment.

The Commission also is to improve coordination and resolve conflicts between the State, Federal government, and private landowners in the State, and recommend laws, policies and programs to the President, Congress and the Governor of Alaska for a coordinated comprehensive statewide land use planning process.

The Commission, created by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, is headed by the Governor of Alaska or his full-time Co-Chairman, and by a Federal Co-Chairman appointed by the President of the United States. Four Commissioners are appointed by the Secretary of the Interior, and four by the Governor of Alaska.